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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Inter-Arab Affairs

Talks on Peace Conference Continue in Damascus 1
Ministers Issue Statement *[Damascus Radio]* 1
Saudi Foreign Minister, Qaddumi Meet *[MENA]* 1
GCC Ministers To Discuss Madrid Representation *[KUNA]* 1

Islamic Affairs

Tehran Conference on Palestine Continues 1
Madrid Talks, Participants Assailed *[Paris Radio Monte Carlo]* 1
Karrubi Meets Libyan Counterpart *[Tehran TV]* 2
Islamic Jihad Praises Meeting *[Tehran TV]* 2
Jibril Hails Muslim World's Efforts *[Tehran TEHRAN TIMES 19 Oct]* 2

Palestinian Affairs

Two PNC Members Resign in Protest *[VOL]* 3
Team Head, Member View Shamir's Decision *[Jerusalem Radio]* 3
Delegation Chief on Peace Conference Positions *[Voice of the People]* 4
Views Palestinian Stance *[Jerusalem AL-NAHAR 22 Oct]* 4
Continued Struggle Pledged in Letter to Khamene'i *[Al-Quds Palestinian Arab Radio]* 5
PLO's 'Arafat Interviewed in Tunis *[Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT 25 Oct]* 5
'Abd-Rabbuh: Saudi Arabia To Resume PLO Ties *[Tunis Radio]* 6
PNC's Sha'th Stresses Unity on Conference *[London AL-HAWADITH 25 Oct]* 6
Israel Seeking Peace 'on Its Own Terms' *[London AL-HAYAH 22 Oct]* 7

ARAB AFRICA

Algeria

Tens of Thousands Protest FLN Party Power *[Algiers Radio]* 10
Reporter Claims 100,000 Marched *[Algiers Radio]* 10
President Benjedid Opens New Judicial Year *[Algiers TV]* 10
Prime Minister Ghozali Interviewed *[Algiers TV]* 13

Egypt

Musa Comments After Damascus 5-Sided Meeting *[MENA]* 19
Ghali Says Mideast Problems Can Be Resolved *[Cairo Radio]* 20
Syria's Al-Asad Phones Mubarak on Peace Process *[Cairo Radio]* 20
President Mubarak Discusses Chances for Peace *[Vienna WOCHENPRESSE 24 Oct]* 20
Arrival of 'Modified F-16C' Aircraft Discussed *[MENA]* 21
Visa Requirement for Jordanians Effective 24 Oct *[MENA]* 22

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Rejects 'Idle Talk' in Madrid *[London AL-HAWADITH 25 Oct]* 22
Al-Qadhdhafi Comments on Decentralization *[Tripoli TV]* 24

IRAQ

UN Resolutions on Oil Sales Said Rejected *[AFP]* 28
Foreign Minister Sends Letter on UN Day *[Baghdad Radio]* 28
Rebel Radio Reports Attacks on Weapons Depot *[Voice of Rebellious Iraq]* 29
Opposition Sources Comment on Regime's 'Fear' *[SANA]* 29
Opposition Calls For Anti-Regime Congress *[Voice of Rebellious Iraq]* 30
SAIRI Leader on Opposition Unification *[Voice of Rebellious Iraq]* 30
U.S. Said Turning IAEA Into CIA Center *[INA]* 30
Turkish Elections Viewed, 'Positive Turn' Seen *[INA]* 31
Paper Explains Abduction of Fishermen *[INA]* 31
Foreign Minister Levi Views Peace Conference *[Paris LE FIGARO 23 Oct]* 31
Levi Reportedly To Run for Prime Minister *[Jerusalem Radio]* 33
'Offensive' Against Shamir Planned *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 33
Shamir, Levi Discuss Delegation Composition *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 33
Ben-Aharon Discusses Delegation, Meetings *[Jerusalem TV]* 33
Israeli Delegation for Madrid Conference Named *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 35
Olmert on Shamir Decision To Head Delegation *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 35
Papers on Shamir Decision to Head Delegation *[HA'ARETZ 24 Oct, etc.]* 36
Ne'eman Sees Madrid Meeting as 'Catastrophe' *[Jerusalem Radio]* 38
Refutes Author's Disclosures *[DAVAR 25 Oct]* 38
Authorities Warn Delegation Not To Meet PLO *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
Palestinians 'Not Sorry' About Shamir's Move *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
Palestinians Officially Accept; New Names Added *[Jerusalem Radio]* 39
Palestinians Angry Over 'Uraygat Remarks *[Jerusalem TV]* 39
Demonstrators Demand Independent Palestine *[Jerusalem Radio]* 40
Palestinian Delegation Cannot Stop Intifadah *[AL HAMISHMAR 24 Oct]* 40
Paper Urges Support for Palestinian Team *[AL-SHA'B 23 Oct]* 40
Paper Says PLO Formed Palestinian Delegation *[AL-QUDS 23 Oct]* 41
Peres To Draft 'New Minimalist Political Plan' *[DAVAR 24 Oct]* 41

JORDAN

Foreign Minister Views Meetings in Damascus *[Amman TV]* 42
Some Palestinians Return With Abu-Jabir *[Paris Radio Monte Carlo]* 42
Delegation to Madrid Peace Conference Listed *[AL-DUSTUR 25 Oct]* 42
Al-Tahrir Party Rejects Peace Plans *[AL-RIBAT 22 Oct]* 42
Labor Minister Resigns; Another Appointed *[Amman Radio]* 42
Address by Crown Prince Hasan Marks UN Day *[Amman Radio]* 43

LEBANON

Minister Fakhuri Views Damascus Meeting *[Beirut Radio]* 45
Fatah Headquarters Seized in 'Peaceful' Protest *[RFL]* 45
Al-Hirawi Interviewed on Foreign Ties, South *[Paris Radio Monte Carlo]* 45
President al-Hirawi on National Rebuilding *[Paris LE MONDE 22 Oct]* 46

SYRIA

National Progressive Front Praises 'Coordination' *[Damascus Radio]* 49
Egypt's Musa Confers With al-Asad on Conference *[Damascus Radio]* 49
Makes Statement, Departs *[SANA]* 49
Saudi Minister Discusses Conference With al-Asad *[SANA]* 49
Issues Statement, Departs *[SANA]* 49
Lebanese, Jordanian Ministers Depart Damascus *[SANA]* 49
Unified Arab Battle for Peace Planned *[Damascus Radio]* 49

SOUTH ASIA

India

No Response From Abductors of Romanian Diplomat *[Delhi Radio]* 51
Narora Atomic Power Plant Unit Goes 'Critical' *[Delhi Radio]* 51
Official Sources: Economic Crisis Continues *[THE HINDUSTAN TIMES 7 Oct]* 51

Iran

Some Palestinian, Lebanese Leaders Arrested
[London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI 24 Oct] 52
Hashemi-Rafsanjani Receives Hamas Spokesman *[Tehran Radio]* 52
Khamene'i Opens Intifadah Support Accounts *[Tehran TV]* 52
Besharati Views Terrorism, U.S. Ties *[TEHRAN TIMES 15 Oct]* 52
Comments on Regional Ties *[TEHRAN TIMES 16 Oct]* 53
Ankara Embassy Lodges Protest of Ship Seizure *[IRNA]* 54
Radio Condemns French Nuclear 'Assistance' *[Voice of Mojahed]* 54
Habibi Attends Defense University Graduation *[Tehran Radio]* 54
Islamic Group Condemns Regional Peace Conference *[IRNA]* 55
Rome Embassy's Consular Section Closed *[TEHRAN TIMES 16 Oct]* 55
'Monafeqin' Criticized for Supporting U.S. *[TEHRAN TIMES 15 Oct]* 55

Pakistan

Renowned Scientist Declares Nuclear Capability *[DAWN 22 Oct]* 56

Inter-Arab Affairs

Talks on Peace Conference Continue in Damascus

Ministers Issue Statement

JN2410140291 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1218 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus—The Arab foreign ministers resumed their meetings at 1130 today. The meeting was concluded at 1300 today with the issuance of the following statement:

The five Arab parties directly concerned with the peace process held a meeting on the ministerial level in Damascus on Wednesday and Thursday, 23 and 24 October 1991, in the presence of His Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, representative of the Gulf Cooperation Council states; and Dr. Abdellatif Filali, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, representative of the Arab Maghreb Union.

The conferees discussed the topics presented to the peace conference, scheduled to be held in Madrid on 30 October 1991, with the aim of establishing full coordination of the positions of their governments on these topics and ensuring a unified Arab stance throughout the various stages of the conference and subsequent talks. The meeting achieved its purpose and the conferees agreed that the delegations of the five parties would periodically meet to review the proceedings of the conference and the discussions, and evaluate the progress made in the talks held with any of the five parties during the conference and subsequent talks. The ministers emphasized that the unity of the Arab position should be maintained in order to realize the goals the Arab side seeks during the peace process. Foremost among these goals are Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; the immediate halt of settlement activity; and securing the Palestinian people's national legitimate rights for the sake of establishing a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

Saudi Foreign Minister, Qaddumi Meet

NC2410135991 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1301 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Damascus, 24 Oct (MENA)—[passage omitted] At the conclusion of the meeting of the seven Arab ministers, Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal had a meeting with Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, the first such meeting since the Gulf war.

A responsible Palestinian source has told MENA that the Saudi-Palestinian meeting turned a new leaf in inter-Arab relations and in the PLO's relations with fraternal Saudi Arabia. The source added that al-Faysal and Qaddumi had agreed to continue coordination and consultations on a bilateral basis as well as through the seven-party coordination committee.

Meanwhile, Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, PLO official spokesman [as received] and Executive Committee member, has answered a question on the PLO's opinion on Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's participation in the Madrid conference. He said: It does not matter for us who will be leading the Israeli side. What matters is the commitment to the international legitimacy to which Shamir was and is still showing disregard. He added: If the purpose of his participation is to obstruct the peace conference, then the world will see the real face of Shamir.

GCC Ministers To Discuss Madrid Representation

LD2510085991 London KUNA in Arabic 1120 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Kuwait, 24 Oct (KUNA)—KUNA learned here today that the Council of Ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] will hold an extraordinary meeting at the headquarters of the General Secretariat in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on Sunday.

Well-informed sources told KUNA that the meeting, to be held at foreign minister level with the six member countries participating, will discuss the invitation extended by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to the members to attend the international peace conference in Madrid at the end of this month.

The sources pointed out that the GCC ministers will study the issue of its representation at the international peace conference in a way that will give impetus to the peace process to achieve the desired aim of convening the conference.

The GCC council previously delegated its secretary general, Mr. 'Abdallah Ya'qub Bisharah, to take part in the conference as an observer.

Islamic Affairs

Tehran Conference on Palestine Continues

Madrid Talks, Participants Assailed

JN2410132991 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1200 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Muhammad Sadiq al-Husayni dispatch from Tehran]

[Text] Following meetings which began last night and lasted until early this morning in Tehran, 10 Palestinian factions participating in the conference in support of the intifadah issued a collective political statement in which they frankly denounced not only the Madrid conference scheduled to be held on 30 October, but also the participation of the PLO leadership and the Arab states in it.

The 13-clause statement, in addition to its principle denouncunciation of the Madrid conference, calls for banning internecine fighting, and escalating the intifadah and armed confrontation with the Zionist enemy

until the liberation of all Palestine. It calls on the PLO leadership in particular to disavow its decision to participate in the Madrid conference. It also calls on the Arab states, whether those participating in the conference directly or those with an observer status, to rescind their decisions. It also denounced the resolutions of the Algiers Palestine National Council and the PLO Central Council, which provided the cover of participation in the conference to liquidate the Palestine question, as the statement put it.

The statement calls on the Palestinian figures who will go to Madrid within the framework of the Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation to withdraw immediately, especially as the mujahid Palestinian people disclaim association with them and hold them fully responsible for this participation.

In addition, the statement considers the four days of the Madrid conference days of sadness and anger by the masses in the occupied territories. It calls on these masses to raise black flags over houses and go to the roofs to pray to God to express their rejection of the Madrid conference and all its subsequent results.

It is worth mentioning that this statement was signed by key PLO factions such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Struggle Front, in addition to the al-Sa'iqah organization. This indicates that a Palestinian consensus has begun to crystallize regarding confrontation of the Arab and Palestinian parties to the Madrid conference.

Karrubi Meets Libyan Counterpart

LD2410172891 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The speaker of the Parliament of the Libyan Jamahiriyah met Mr. Karrubi, speaker of the Majles, before his departure from Tehran today.

The Libyan speaker said: We, the Islamic countries, intend to implement all the decisions of the conference in support of the Islamic revolution of Palestine. We are ready to cooperate, in any way possible, with the Islamic countries' parliaments in that regard.

He lauded the setting up of the conference in support of the Islamic revolution of the people of Palestine and said: The historic decisions adopted at that conference would make outstanding assistance to the intifadah.

Islamic Jihad Praises Meeting

LD2410162191 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Islamic Jihad Movement of Palestine, in a letter to His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i, the supreme jurisconsult, has described the holding of the international conference in support of the Islamic revolution of the people of Palestine as a great victory for the Muslim Palestinian nation. The tex. of the letter is as follows:

In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. His Eminence Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the leader of the Islamic revolution and the supreme jurisconsult, may God keep you. The holding of the international conference in support of the Islamic revolution of the people of Palestine, in Tehran, the Islamic capital, at this time, is considered a great victory for the Muslim Palestinian nation and the course of the Islamic revolution in Iran and its foundations and slogans. The holding of such a conference emphasizes your fundamental role in the fight against arrogance. Nearly 13 years after the victory of the Islamic revolution, the cries of the early days and the fervor and the slogans still resound in Tehran, and nearly all the representatives of the Islamic ummah gathered together to declare their allegiance to this great revolution. This had not been accomplished before.

Your Holiness Ayatollah Khamene'i, we cannot imagine any loftier deed than what you have done in these hard times. You have mobilized the people and gone to war with world arrogance, which is at the height of its hegemonism and bullying. This gigantic move of yours gives hope to world Muslims and gives them the profound hope that their current battle against satan, paganism and corruption will lead to victory.

Therefore, in the name of the Islamic Jihad Movement and in the name of the Muslim and combative Palestinian nation, we thank Your Excellency and declare our commitment to the line and guidances of that leader, which is the line of the great Islam and the line of jihad until the liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem.

Jibril Hails Muslim World's Efforts

NC2410210191 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 19 Oct 91 pp 1, 15

[Report by 'Ali 'Ayyari on "exclusive" interview with Ahmad Jibril, leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, in Tehran; date not given]

[Text] Tehran—A leading Palestinian leader hailed yesterday the efforts in the cause of the Muslim world and particularly for the Palestinian cause.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command [PFLP-GC] leader Ahmad Jibril said, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the very beginning of the culmination of the Islamic Revolution attached utmost importance to the Palestinian cause." [as published]

In an exclusive interview with the TEHRAN TIMES Jibril said that the Islamic conference on Palestine which

is due to start today "is being held at a very sensitive moment because after few weeks a U.S.-sponsored conference is also to be held."

"But," he said, "there is a great difference between the two, as one is being held for the achievement of the goal of Palestine and the other being held for the safety and security of the Zionist regime."

"I have no doubt that the main objective of the U.S. is to annihilate the cause of the Palestinians," Jibril said.

"I'm aware that there are a variety of participants in the Tehran conference and some belong to their governments," he said and hoped firmly that the conference will act in the interests of the common Palestinians and their main objectives for which they have made unprecedented sacrifices.

Turning to the U.S. sponsored conference for which U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is currently touring the region Jibril said the proposed conference will be held by pro-U.S. Arab governments and it will not be acceptable to the Palestinian and Muslims as a whole in the world.

On the hostage issue in Lebanon and Israel, Jibril said, "The problem lies in the fact that the West has adopted double standards.

"Whenever there is any move, the West refuses to talk on Palestinians and Lebanese and Iranians held by Israel as they are concerned only with their own people," Jibril said.

"West looks in terms of human rights as far as white men are concerned and they do not bother about Arabs, Palestinians and other Muslim in terms of human rights," he said.

"This hostage problem can be solved within no time if they (West) attach the same importance to the Iranian, Palestinian and Lebanese hostages as they are concerned with their people," Jibril said.

On the intifadah or uprising in the Israeli occupied lands Jibril said, "In four years time the Palestinians in the occupied lands have proved that one day they will achieve their objective."

"I really have no doubt that the intifadah is the only solution to the problem of Palestine," he said and pointed out that "I do not trust the U.S. and its pro-Arab allies as they have inflicted such a deep wound on their own nation and Palestinians that won't be healed so soon."

Jibril said that intifadah activists are directly fighting for the holy shrine (Holy Quds) [Jerusalem] and the world Muslims are with them.

"I'm sure that the intifadah activists will succeed in their holy mission... it's just a matter of time."

Palestinian Affairs

Two PNC Members Resign in Protest

NC2410190091 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] PLO spokesman Ahmad 'Abd-Rahman has said that Shamir wants to torpedo the peace conference by choosing to lead the Israeli delegation to the conference. He added that Shamir is not going to the peace conference to take part in establishing peace.

To protest Palestinian participation in the peace conference, Palestine National Council [PNC] members Bahjat Abu-Gharbiyah and Jamil Maraqah have tendered their resignations.

Meanwhile, George Habash, secretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP], has said that the front is about to freeze its membership or withdraw from the PLO Executive Committee.

Team Head, Member View Shamir's Decision

JN2410191691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Arabic 1555 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Report by Hasan Abu-Zayid carried within the "With the Events" program]

[Excerpts] Members of Knesset [MK] 'Amir Peretz and Avraham Katz-'Oz from the Labor Party, today visited Gaza where they met with Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation, and Dr. Zakariya al-Agha, member of the delegation. [passage omitted]

Dr. Zakariya al-Agha talked about the two MK's visit and his meeting with them.

[Begin recording] [Al-Agha] In fact, the MK's came to voice support for the Palestinian delegation and for participation in the conference. They also voiced support for our demand for Israeli withdrawal from our occupied territories and for recognizing our national rights.

[Abu-Zayid] Dr. Zakariya al-Agha, what do you think of Shamir's decision to lead the Israeli delegation to the Madrid conference?

[Al-Agha] In fact, this is not a good indicator. Invitations were addressed to the foreign ministers, and David Levi was supposed to go. However, there seems to be conflict within the Likud between Shamir and Levi. I hope that the Israeli delegation will go the conference with a sincere desire for peace. We are going with a sincere desire for peace. I hope the Israeli delegation will have the same desire toward the achievement of a just, durable peace in the region. [end recording]

Responding to a question on remarks made by delegation member Sa'ib 'Urayqat, Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi said:

[Begin 'Abd-al-Shafi recording] In fact, I do not understand what Israel exactly wants. Israel demanded that the delegation comprise no one from Jerusalem or from the outside. Although this is an unfair and unjustifiable demand, we were committed to it. The delegation was selected from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. After that, I do not think Israel should have any objection. I understand that Israel demands that no PLO officials or people affiliated with its institutions be included. Irrespective of what the members of the delegation say, the entire Palestinian people support the PLO. Does that mean that Israel does not want to talk to any Palestinian? I can understand the Israeli demand that no Palestinian officials [preceding word in English] from the PLO be included. This is understood. However, if somebody states that the PLO is satisfied with us, so what? [end recording]

Delegation Chief on Peace Conference Positions

NC2410125091 (Clandestine) Voice of the People in Arabic to Lebanon 1130 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Voice of the People has telephoned Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace conference. He said the Palestinian delegation will not be changed. He said the dialogue that preceded formation of the delegation took place with the knowledge of the PLO and in consultation with it. He pointed out that the Americans left the points of disagreement to the negotiations. He noted that the Palestinian paper is almost ready. He told the Voice of the People that the Palestinian party will not accept self-rule alone as the entire solution. Self-rule, he said, must be a stage toward national independence. As for turning self-rule that is acceptable to the Palestinians into a course toward independence, 'Abd-al-Shafi said this can come about by stopping the policy of building settlements and establishing an authority on the ground for Palestinians. After noting the Israeli rejection of this course, he said the Americans left the points of disagreement to the negotiations. As for the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement, he said understanding has been reached on a joint delegation, but on the same footing between the two parties.

Views Palestinian Stance

TA2410151791 Jerusalem AL-NAHAR in Arabic 22 Oct 91 pp 1, 11

[Interview with Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of Palestinian delegation in Madrid peace conference, by 'Imad al-Afranji in Gaza on 21 October]

[Excerpts] [Al-Afranji] What if the Israeli side does not make any concessions?

['Abd-al-Shafi] We do not wish to prejudge this issue and say that there is no way or that the road is closed. One cannot say that the conference is useless because of the settlement issue and the Israeli positions. We hope that the Israeli stance will change. We sense that Israel will find itself isolated at an early stage of the conference. I believe that the United States, the Soviet Union, and all the participants will stress that settlement activity is inconsistent with peace. Therefore, Israel will be isolated and will be forced to adopt a position, such as freezing settlement activity during the period of negotiations.

[Al-Afranji] As head of the Palestinian delegation, do you agree on autonomy? What are your preparations for the conference?

['Abd-al-Shafi] Only if autonomy is a stage before reaching a Palestinian state. I feel my national responsibility in this regard and under these circumstances. I will absolutely not make any compromises on our national rights.

[Al-Afranji] But what are the Palestinian concessions that have been made so far?

['Abd-al-Shafi] The Palestinian peace initiative, to which we are still committed, contained basic concessions. Before, we did not recognize Israel's existence as a state. All the events that occurred in Palestine since the British Mandate were seen as a "violation" of the Palestinian people's rights. These concessions, which fall within the framework of the efforts for peace, were dictated by the existing realities. There is a Jewish nation in the arena and we cannot ignore this fact. Efforts had to be made for solving the problem peacefully by taking into consideration the existence of the Jewish and Palestinian peoples and the establishment of peace between them on the basis of justice, rightness, and equality.

[Al-Afranji] What is your opinion on the choice of Madrid as the venue for convening the peace conference?

['Abd-al-Shafi] It is a very good choice. I have not been to Madrid yet. Perhaps its selection was a result of behind-the-scenes considerations. I have carried out contacts with some members of the Palestinian delegation. I will be in Madrid on 29 October.

[Al-Afranji] What is the authority of the Palestinian delegation? And what is the "red line" at which you will stop?

['Abd-al-Shafi] We will adhere to the general framework of the Palestinian peace initiative, specifically the principle of the establishment of two states, a Palestinian and an Israeli state. We will negotiate on this basis. I believe that what is important now is the Israeli position. It is Israel that must adopt a fundamental stance, particularly with regard to halting settlement. Were Israel to insist on settlement activity, claim that all the land belongs to Israel, and that the Palestinians have no right on the land, this stance cannot possibly permit the negotiations to continue.

[Al-Afranji] Will you announce that you are guided by the PLO?

['Abd-al-Shafi] We will not hesitate to do this should the situation warrant, but I see no need for that. [passage omitted]

[Al-Afranji] What do you have to say to the Palestinian people?

['Abd-al-Shafi] They should maintain the unity of the Palestinian position despite the divergence in views. This delegation will go to the conference to defend the Palestinians' right of self-determination and the establishment of an independent state, as well as to defend the right of the refugees as stipulated by UN resolutions. [passage omitted]

Continued Struggle Pledged in Letter to Khamene'i

JN2410192991 (Clandestine) Al-Quds Palestinian Arab Radio in Arabic 1730 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] At the conclusion of the world conference for supporting the Palestinian revolution and the intifadah in Palestine, a message was addressed to His Eminence Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic revolution and the Islamic Republic. The message says:

We, the representatives of the Palestinian forces and factions participating in the international conference for supporting the intifadah and the Palestinian revolution, hail the support of the Islamic Republic and your eminence for the jihad of our Palestinian Arab people and their blessed intifadah. We stress to your eminence our determination to continue our jihad and struggle until the Holy al-Aqsa mosque and every inch of Palestine are liberated. Your brave policy guides strugglers at this difficult stage. May God preserve you for Islam and Palestine.

[Dated] Wednesday, 13 Rabi' Thani, 1412 Hegira, corresponding to 22 October 1991

The statement [as heard] was signed by the Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine-General Command, the Islamic Resistance Movement—Hamas, the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine, Fatah, Fatah-the Revolutionary Council, the Popular Liberation War Vanguards—al-Sa'iqah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Revolutionary Palestinian Communist Party, the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

PLO's 'Arafat Interviewed in Tunis

TA2510095391 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (LESHABAT supplement) in Hebrew 25 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat, by 'Uzi Mahanaymi "in the framework of an international news conference" in Tunis, "several hours after the 'Arafat-Paskin meeting in Paris" on 22 October]

[Text] [Mahanaymi] Is the PLO responsible for the recent terrorist attacks in the territories?

['Arafat] Before we start talking about our operations in the territories, I would like to note the attacks against our women and children in the territories. I would also like to stress that extremist elements in Israel have announced that they will arise and fight against peace. We have an official decision not to use firearms in the intifadah, but you must remember that patience has its limits. The violence of the Army and the settlers against us will create more violence. We will try to control it, but I repeat: There is a limit to patience and restraint.

[Mahanaymi] On the same note: Were those your men who were caught in al-Naqurah a month ago trying to get to Nahariyya?

['Arafat] Can anyone keep watch over all of the Palestinian people? Can Bush control all the Americans?

[Mahanaymi] Meaning they were "undisciplined" men from your organization?

['Arafat] Do not forget the extensive killings in Lebanon. You have been bombarding there over the past few days. It is only natural for violence against Palestinians to lead to violence.

[Mahanaymi] Will the "armed struggle" continue during the Madrid conference?

['Arafat] Is this an Israeli precondition? Is it directed at the PLO? Is there an official demand? I want such a question to be addressed to me officially for an answer. If I receive an official appeal, I will respond.

[Mahanaymi] Is there room for gestures of goodwill by both parties on the eve of the conference?

['Arafat] We have already made goodwill gestures: We have agreed not to take part in the delegation; our foreign minister is not represented; we did not insist that the United States renew its relations with us. Since 1988, we have been doing everything to start a peace process. And where are you? You pave a road as wide as the Champs Elysee through refugee camps. The Koran says: There are among the men of Moses those who preach for justice. I ask: Where are those people?

[Mahanaymi] What is your message to the Israelis on the eve of the Madrid conference?

['Arafat] Since 1988 I have been calling for true peace with the Israelis, and how do you reply? Only yesterday Shamir said in Strasbourg that there are no Palestinians; that there is no point in discussing the return of territory; that those living in Judaea and Samaria are mere "subjects." Do you Israelis want to live by the sword forever? Do you Israelis believe that by the use of force you will be able to stay in and become part of the region? It will not work. Why should we not reach an agreement? Is it not the Land of Canaan (in Hebrew)? After all, you can only make peace with the enemy, not with friends.

[Mahanaymi] Are you willing to declare that in order to improve the atmosphere on the eve of the conference,

you are willing to stop the intifadah in return for stopping the settlement drive?

['Arafat] Give me an official Israeli request from the Israeli Government and I will give you an answer. I am the president of Palestine and the head of the PLO. I will even say more: If an official body, such as the United Nations, offers what you have just offered, I will be willing to consider it very positively.

[Mahanaymi] The Israeli is telling himself: I want to reach an agreement with the Palestinians. What is the important difference between making such an agreement directly with you or with Faysal al-Husayni, for example?

['Arafat] Tell me, is it possible for me to reach an agreement with the Peace Now movement? Can I make agreements with an Israeli body that was not elected? It is the same with us. We have a body that was elected in a more democratic manner than yours. I would like to ask: Had the PLO not approved the list of delegation members, would any of the Palestinians show up for the talks? Could anyone meet with Baker without my approval? Look at what is taking place on your side: Moshe 'Amirav was kicked out of the Likud Party for speaking his mind. [Tel Aviv Mayor] Shlomo Lahat is in trouble with the Likud because he said what he thinks.

[Mahanaymi] In fact, there is no problem and a perfect solution was found: There is the front headquarters of the delegation and the rear headquarters in Tunis. What is wrong with that? Why should anyone talk directly to you?

['Arafat] Peace is made with whoever was elected. I was elected, and I want to make peace with the elected Israeli prime minister. If I were to take part in a direct dialogue with the Israelis, we could finish matters in one week, instead of reaching peace after a year. Is that not preferable? I am the legitimate decisionmaker. I believe that a lot of progress will be made in the next three months, and an arrangement will be reached. My fear is that Prime Minister Shamir will look for an excuse to torpedo the talks, through elections or some other excuse. If he does that, it will be a fatal mistake.

[Mahanaymi] Will your men be in Madrid?

['Arafat] Do not forget that I have an embassy in Madrid, and it is one of the two full-fledged embassies we have in the world (the other is in Athens).

[Mahanaymi] You are asking for the territories. What will you tell a Palestinian who wants to return to Yafo, 'Akko, or Haifa?

['Arafat] We recognize the UN resolutions. There are only two options: the right of return or compensation. You are giving $5,000 to $10,000 to every Soviet immigrant before he even arrives. We could reach an agreement on this issue: Those who choose to return will return; those who prefer compensation will be compensated. When there is a will, there is a way.

[Mahanaymi] If and when Israel withdraws, will this be the end of the conflict?

['Arafat] The establishment of a Palestinian state or a confederation will be the end of the conflict. That is it. I am willing to accept any kind of international or multinational force on our part of the land of Palestine for as long as the Israeli public sees fit.

[Mahanaymi] Do you, Abu-'Ammar, hate us after 30 years of struggle?

['Arafat] I am proud to say that the PLO and Fatah literature does not include a single evil word against the Israelis and the Jews. We do not teach hatred, we do not hate.

[Mahanaymi] From the Israeli point of view, what is the difference between a Yasir 'Arafat in Tunis without peace and an 'Arafat on the terrace in Qalqilyah with peace?

['Arafat] In Tunis or anywhere else, 'Arafat is a freedom fighter. In Qalqilyah, I am a citizen, subject to everything that obligates a citizen of a country that has a peace agreement with its neighboring country.

[Mahanaymi] They say that Shamir is an old man who will never change his mind. You are not young, either. Will you change your mind?

['Arafat] Was de Gaulle young? When Begin signed the peace accord with Egypt, was he young? Am I young? Is Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, the head of our delegation to Madrid, young? The question is not a man's age, but whether he has a closed or an open mind.

'Abd-Rabbuh: Saudi Arabia To Resume PLO Ties

LD2510074791 Tunis Tunisian Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0600 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Mr. Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh, member of the PLO Executive Committee, announced that Saudi Arabia has promised to resume its relations with the PLO which were severed during the Gulf war. In a statement in Amman following his return from Syria, Mr. Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh pointed out that the Saudi foreign minister made the promise during a meeting he held in Damascus with Mr. Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, on the sidelines of the meetings of the Arab frontline countries.

PNC's Sha'th Stresses Unity on Conference

LD2410152791 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 25 Oct 91 pp 32, 33

[Interview with Dr. Nabil Sha'th, head of the Palestine National Council Political Committee and adviser to PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat, by Usamah 'Ajjaj in Cairo; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] ['Ajjaj] Do you believe that the United States will resume the dialogue with the PLO,

especially in view of its urgent demand for Abu-al-'Abbas' [Mahmud 'Abbas] removal from the Executive Committee?

[Sha'th] I do not believe that the Americans will resume the dialogue or relations with the PLO at the present time or before the conference. Not because the Americans are against restoring these relations, but because the timing is not right, especially as they are confronting Israel on several thorny issues like the settlement issue and Palestinian representation. But the restoration of relations between Washington and the PLO is just a matter of time. It is a question raised, not a condition. Our role is to present our demands clearly, regardless of the possibility of implementing them at this time.

['Ajjaj] But press statements attributed to you personally referred to Palestinian-U.S. and Palestinian-Israeli meetings held recently. Can you clarify this?

[Sha'th] The truth of the matter is that there are international conferences held regularly with the participation of Palestinians, Israelis, Egyptians, and other Arabs and individual Europeans and Americans. This has been the case since the PLO's decision to proclaim the state of Palestine and present the Palestinian peace initiative, since the decision to initiate meetings with any Israeli who can move toward a peace based on the Palestinian people's rights. Over the past few weeks seminars have been held in Milan, Geneva, Spain, San Francisco, and London, in which elements from the Israeli peace camp and delegations from the PLO have participated. These seminars continued without interruption even during the Gulf war. These meetings have been very fruitful. [passage omitted]

['Ajjaj] It seems that the dialogue with Jordan represents one of the PLO's worries, especially with the preparation for convening the peace conference, in which the two sides may participate with a joint delegation.

[Sha'th] We have no worries with Jordan. The aims are almost identical. Since Jordan gave up representing the West Bank it has not contested the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people. The PLO is eager to maintain the highest levels of cooperation with Jordan in the peace process. Through the Palestine National Council [PNC] resolutions the Palestinian people are still anxious that their Palestinian state should seek to form a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation. So, relations between the two sides are continuing. If it is agreed to form a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, it will be on an equal basis, and the PLO will be the authority to which the Palestinian delegation will refer.

['Ajjaj] There is talk about a paper that has not been endorsed by the Jordanian- Palestinian joint high committee under King Husayn and President 'Arafat. Is it possible to know the content of this paper?

[Sha'th] The paper sets the aims and foundations of the negotiation and the peace process. It is very similar to what was endorsed by the PNC. It also draws up clear relations between the two sides in the procedures, the structure of those relations, and the proposed scenarios for action. It will be ready when the Central Council decides on the choice of the delegation's form.

['Ajjaj] Despite all these preparations for the peace conference, that does not prevent there being disagreement between the Arab side and the Israeli side over the interpretation of Resolutions 242 and 338. The Israeli foreign minister's visit to Cairo two months ago reflected the extent of disagreement in understanding and interpreting the two resolutions. What is the Palestinian interpretation of the two resolutions?

[Sha'th] Our interpretation is clear: Israel must withdraw from every inch of the Arab and Palestinian territories it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the Lebanese territories occupied later. And the right to repatriation and compensation must be implemented as a part of the solution to the refugee problem stipulated by resolution. Then a peace must be established in the region that guarantees for its states, including the independent Palestinian state, and grants to the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and regional security and peace.

['Ajjaj] Hamas and the Salvation Front still cast doubt on the unanimity over the PNC resolutions. Has that been surmounted?

[Sha'th] There is now a Palestinian national resolution whose major political clause concerning the position on the peace conference received 79 percent of the council's votes. The resolution as a whole received 93 percen of the votes. It is that resolution which governs all our future political steps.

Israel Seeking Peace 'on Its Own Terms'

PM2310114791 London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 22 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Sari Nusaybah, member of the "Palestinian advisory committee that will participate in the peace conference within the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation," by Ruba al-Husari in "occupied Jerusalem"; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Al-Husari] You are one of few people to have held dialogue and negotiations with Likud figures. Although agreement was reached, these contacts were stopped after the intervention of Likud leader Yitzhaq Shamir, who is today taking Israel to the negotiating table. What has changed?

[Nusaybah] Nothing has changed. The Likud has always wanted peace on its own terms that, to a large extent, are embodied in the Camp David agreements, the Shamir plan, and what is currently proposed for the conference.

I disagree with those who claim that Israel did not want to take part in the conference. The conference is in line with the Israeli position. Israel did not come under any

U.S. pressure to participate. All the pressure was on the Palestinians, to make them agree to a conference in line with Israeli specifications. That pressure, however, will end the moment we join the conference because we will have mobilized world support for us as a result of our participation.

In the negotiations we held in the past with some Likud figures, we managed to change their views, especially the views of the main negotiator Moshe 'Amirav, in such a way that he had to withdraw from the Likud Central Committee. The agreement reached with him was much better than what is proposed today, and he was not alone in that position because he used to consult with prominent Likud members or those who came to be known as the "Likud princes." The agreement at the time included the PLO as a negotiator and representative, self-determination, and Jerusalem as the Palestinian capital.

[Al-Husari] Considering the proposed conference terms, what do you think the Palestinian strategy be at the conference will be?

[Nusaybah] I believe that the main aim at the conference will be to enlist world support for us against Israel. Therefore, we should do our best not to provoke or embarrass the parties whose support we seek; for example, we want an end to the settlements. That is our right and the world knows it, but if at the same time we carried out such operations as the Achille Lauro or the Tel Aviv beach landing operation, the situation would change. We must be seen to be peaceful, seeking our rights at the conference, a halt to the settlements, or an Israeli acknowledgement that Resolution 242 means withdrawal. The world understands these matters and could support us and pressure Israel. We should adhere to these main issues, with the peaceful face of the Palestinian people and their struggle, and should transfer that struggle to the conference.

We could even unilaterally suspend the violence and some other aspects of the intifadah, such as strikes, without asking anything in return, not because of pressures or demands but as a gesture of goodwill on our part before we are asked to stop the intifadah during the negotiations. That would strengthen world support for us and increase world pressure on Israel to give us something in return. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husari] Could the intifadah be abandoned so easily, without the achievement of any gains over four years?

[Nusaybah] Without being emotional, the fact is that the intifadah does not exist. There is resistance to the occupation. That resistance is stronger than it was before the intifadah but less than it was at the beginning of the intifadah. The intifadah is a means, not an end. In the first two years it was a means and an instrument in our hands against Israel. Today any reasonable person can see that it has become an instrument in Israel's hand against us. For example, strikes result in losses, not gains. On the other hand, what has been achieved has been achieved by the intifadah. But that does not mean it should be kept going.

[Al-Husari] How would the people react?

[Nusaybah] Some would feel very bad about it, but that feeling wou'l be unjustified because the intifadah has achieved its objectives in arousing world interest in the Palestinian cause and in leading to negotiations for a settlement. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husari] The United States has used all its influence to start a peace process, and it has succeeded in doing that. Would that attitude continue during the negotiations, bearing in mind its long-term strategy in the Middle East?

[Nusaybah] Some people are under the illusion that there has been some change in the essence of the U.S. policy or that there has been an upward trend in the U.S. position on the Palestinian question. That is not true. The U.S. policy today is the same old policy. It has not changed, but what is new is that the current U.S. Administration seems determined to do what previous administrations did not do and that is implement that policy, which is based on Resolution 242, promoting stability in the region, ending the occupation, and giving the Palestinians some rights—the ceiling for that being what former President Ronald Reagan said in his speech about a link between a Palestinian entity of some kind in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and Jordan. Another point is that the United States wants to start the new world order with political stability in the region. The way to achieve that is through negotiations and settlement between Israel and the Arab world. Such stability would serve U.S. long-term interests as the master of the new world. There is also the moral aspect resulting from the Gulf war. The United States wants to demonstrate to its allies, the world, and the American public that it is interested not only in oil but also in securing the rights of others in the region. Secretary James Baker has made personal efforts and would not accept failure. He has his eyes on 1996 as the year when he could become President of the United States. [passage omitted]

[Al-Husari] For the first time the Palestinians are entering into political negotiations without the PLO's being the official negotiator, after insisting for many long years that they would not take part in such negotiations. Will this affect the PLO's status?

[Nusaybah] In agreeing to attend the conference we have made many concessions, such as dropping our demands for up-front PLO representation, for an international conference, for the presence of representatives from East Jerusalem carrying Jerusalem identity cards, for a link between the two phases, for prior Israeli recognition of the right of self-determination, and even for withdrawal and for representation of Palestinians in the diaspora. After all these concessions, which were made under U.S. and other pressures, the question is: Have we made the right decision or the wrong decision and will we be able

to make any gains? I believe that these concessions are a way of achieving some gains.

[Al-Husari] But the decision to join the negotiations without PLO participation was a historic decision.

[Nusaybah] The PLO is and will remain the founder or the common denominator for all Palestinians everywhere. It represents the united identity of the Palestinian people. Because our aim is to consolidate that unity and to struggle for the rights of the people as one integral unit, there is no fear for the continuity and survival of the PLO, nor for its representation. It is not a question of individuals. The PLO is there as a necessity and will not disappear. It is the only umbrella we have managed to form through our efforts at home and abroad to demonstrate that unity. The reference to the PLO as being a primarily military organization may change, but that is inevitable because there is no military option today.

In the course of history, some things in the PLO will change but the organization itself will remain.

Algeria

Tens of Thousands Protest FLN Party Power

LD2410172191 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Tens of thousands of people today heeded the Rally for Culture and Democracy's [RCD] call and took part in a march toward the presidential office to demand the deliverance of Algeria from the FLN's [National Liberation Front] grip, as the RCD put it.

The march is the first of its kind since the lifting of the state of siege on 29 September. The security services, however, stopped the march at Addis Ababa Square. [RCD Chairman] Dr. Sa'id Saadi is expected to hold a news conference to evaluate the march.

Reporter Claims 100,000 Marched

LD2410230891 Algiers Radio Algiers Network in Arabic 1830 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Rally for Culture and Democracy [RCD] organized a march towards the presidency today in which tens of thousands of people took part. The march was halted at Addis Ababa crossroad by the security services. More details follow from radio correspondent Mohsin Suleimani.

[Suleimani] More than 100,000 RCD activists took part today in a march which was planned to reach the Presidency. However, the march was halted by security men at Addis Ababa Square. Dr. Said Saadi [RCD chairman] made an address there to his activists. He began by denouncing the decision to prevent march from reaching the presidency, a matter which he considered an act of sabotage, as he claimed.

He added: We wanted to deliver an open letter to the president of the Republic. A letter asserting, inter alia, that thanks to a number of Algerian nationalists' sacrifices, the legislative elections will be held in an atmosphere of pluralism. Pluralism does not necessary mean fair and legal elections, however, the letter said.

The message held the president of the Republic responsible for what it termed the single-party rule and called upon him not to keep his hands tied; he should face up to the excesses, it added.

Said Saadi's speech also reiterated the RCD demand to drop the FLN [Front de Liberation Nationale] party, and attributed the emergence of Islamic parties to the political scene, particularly the popularity of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front], to alarming social problems brought about the FLN party's grip on power for past 30 years. The factory that produces misery and poverty must be destroyed, he asserted.

We would like to point out that banners like "New Algeria" and "FLN Party Must Relinquish Power," "RCD Should Rule," and "Power to the Youth" were raised at today's RCD march. Thus, it was clear that the RCD had chosen the date of this march to measure its strength in the mobilization of its activists and to make an attempt to find a short and quick route to the presidency. However, this time it did not even reach the Golf district [which is near the Presidency].

However, one question remains: Why was the march not allowed to reach Mohamed Sedik Banyahia Square? A square where gatherings of a number of [opposition] parties took place previously. Therefore, a question should be asked: does this mean that the regime's strategy has changed as far as the organization of such marches is concerned?

President Benjedid Opens New Judicial Year

LD2310192191 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1900 GMT 21 Oct 91

[Speech by President Chadli Bendjedid at ceremony marking the opening of the new judicial year; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Brother and sister attendants. On this occasion I would like to join the officials of this sensitive and strategic sector in congratulating ourselves for the steps taken by this sector in spite of the difficulties of the mission and circumstances and in spite of the past traditions and practices of this sector, as it was able in approximately three years to regain its status and be worthy of the powers given to it by the constitution. [passage omitted]

You know me, I am frank and I speak without paying compliments. I say the truth. Sometimes this leads to annoyance in some quarters and to misunderstandings. But I would like to express my opinion in an honest and sincere way. I do not mean to attack any side or organization, whatever it is.

My motive is the trust I have attached to these institutions, particularly the political parties. Frankly I do not want any party to glorify or praise the directions toward which we are marching. Perhaps there are shortcomings. However, from the outset we have asked for everyone's help—the citizens, the institutions, the parties, everybody. There was one aim, which is no more and no less than the national interest .

Sometimes we see deformations and some words which actually are not compatible with logic, the situation and reality. You can see that eastern Europe and some countries in the Third World, of which we are a part, are suffering from problems which are perhaps more difficult and more dangerous than the problems of Algeria. But we do not see there this magnification; exaggeration and deformation in presenting the graveness of the situation. What is the aim of this? Hence we ask the question: Does this serve the stability of Algerian society? Does this encourage the citizen to work? I think that there is some exaggeration. What are the reasons

which led to all this? Perhaps it was the lack of the freedom of opinion in the past.

Indeed, our shortcomings are many. They are similar to those of all the countries of the Third World, particularly the countries with a government style similar to that of Algeria. What has been achieved actually has not risen to the level of the aspirations of Algerian society. Perhaps if there were shortcomings we could compare—we should always compare. I am not saying we are better than the others, but I say compare and take into consideration the resources of Algeria and also the resources of the others.

However, we say in fact we have economic, social and financial problems. Perhaps they resulted from the choices we have made. Frankly I cannot accuse people. Whatever the hard work and sincerity of the people might be, the type of the so-called system we chose is in fact what could be largely responsible. We chose a system and followed it for a certain period, and it was necessary. But there were shortcomings. I do not want to reopen the wounds of the living or open the graves of the dead. Perhaps our moral, political, and religious upbringing made us avoid all this and we shouldered our responsibilities without burdening the others.

Yes, I shouldered the responsibility under difficult circumstances. I tried to cure the various problems. But you all know the truth. There was no complete readiness to cure our problems before they reached this level. Brothers, you remember I talked about our shortcomings and problems long ago. Even when I talked before the October events, it was as if we were joking in the streets for the sake of certain aims. By God, we have no benefit to gain from these directions which we wanted and at the same time for whose achievement through the mobilization of the efforts of all the sincere sons of this nation we have committed ourselves before the Algerian society. [passage omitted]

You all know, however, that whenever we tried somehow to speed up the changes some fabricated problems were created because people are afraid of the person who decides. Good, let us give back the word to the Algerian people. This is what we have been calling for for some time. Thus, let us create or provide the necessary conditions for this great operation which is going to change the forms and ways which we were complaining about in the past and let us submit to the will of the people. However, I hereby affirm and say that we will watch with all honesty and loyalty over the credibility of all the elections which will come in the future.

This is the commitment of the president of the republic, and I may even allow myself to say that this is the commitment of the Algerian government with regard to the provision of all these conditions. However, when we see an escalation of language, emotionalism, and lack of seriousness pushing Algerian society to the extent of losing confidence in itself and of feeling some kind of dissatisfaction regarding its future and the future of its children, this policy really does not serve the national interest. On the contrary, it creates a kind of doubt and instability that are not in the interest of Algerian society and even of political and other institutions.

While we accept logical and rational talks, as regards exaggerated language for the sake of clouding issues and for reaching certain positions at any price, even at the expense of treading on dead corpses or buying votes from the streets in order to tarnish the reputation of the others and thereby achieve power, this action is an ignoble and dishonest act that does not serve the general interest. The use of harmful words and action against persons, institutions, and groups without any concrete evidence is considered a crime and hypocrisy toward the Algerian society.

Also and regrettably, we see, and I have had great hope that mass media organs, public and independent, would have contributed toward highlighting this noble and sound meaning in a logical and objective way. However, in some cases, perish the thought that I would not like to generalize here, some mass media organs are contributing toward creating doubt, darkening matters and exaggerating a number of issues.

We are for freedom of the press. However, this should be within a logical framework and within an objective method because this sector has a noble mission, as far as we are concerned. [passage omitted]

In all frankness, I would like to say that I hope that all these institutions will contribute toward providing the necessary conditions so that we can to accomplish this crucial operation, if we may call it so, regarding the forthcoming elections for a new National People's Assembly. I would like to stress once again and commit myself before you, in your capacity as judges and as political officials, that I will strive to provide all the necessary conditions for the handling this matter so that full transparency and clarity emerge. I hope that everybody contributes to this within the law so that everybody can assure himself with regard to real credibility in this respect. [passage omitted]

The elections will be on 26 December—they must be on 26 December so that we can fully conclude them. Frankly, in some cases, we see some brothers apportioning blame for some kind of slowness, saying that this is intended for political reasons. This is no more than distortion; however, when we take measures and prepare things, many voices are raised with prejudicial comments or saying that there are some things to which I do not really give the necessary value, such as the latest laws which have been approved by the National People's Assembly. It is known in all states and in all regimes that there is a National People's Assembly which has powers and the president of the Republic or someone else has no right to interfere when matters are in accordance with the principles of the Constitution. We cannot, however, please everybody or force an assembly to please all the people. This is always impossible.

However, I am frankly satisfied as far as the laws on the forthcoming elections are concerned. Naturally, everybody has some kind of reservations on some things which have not been achieved 100 percent. I will say, however, that I believe that the laws which have been approved in the past few days give possibilities to the government to make preparations with a reasonable and logical way to carry out this operation.

I affirm to you that we will respect the will of the people as far as the choice is concerned and a new National People's Assembly stemming from the will of the majority of the people will come out and the majority in the parliament will carry out its duties with every freedom.

We hear many people who talk also in some cases when we apply the principle of tolerance in consideration of the fact that there is inexperience and many other excuses as far as abuses are concerned. We see voices being raised and naturally they accuse the authorities of conspiring or dealing with those who create confusion in the country.

When we take the necessary measures in the national interest we are met with condemnation. Thus, before the condemnation campaign is launched one finds everybody silent, nobody utters a word, and nobody condemns the behavior of these people. This gives the impression that it is the state which is unjust; and when matters calm down and settle we hear other voices that attack, to some extent, the legal measures.

Let us be clear about this: we took measures within the framework of the law. This means that playing around with the feelings of the people, politically speaking, does not serve the interest of the country. We are going through a difficult phase; therefore, we should all work toward overcoming this phase. When we lay down the official and legitimate foundations and when they become established, everybody will have the right ... [sentence incomplete as heard]

However, when we provide the conditions and announce the date we begin to hear voices, under all guises, claiming that this is a false operation. Why should one prejudge matters? We will never allowe election-rigging to happen, either during these elections or otherwise, personally speaking. I have full confidence in the government, and that it will work in this direction and in accordance with this line.

I would like to assure all brothers that this will be conducted honestly and with total openness. We will allow all brothers to control this operation within the election headquarters.

We sometimes have to blame some mass media organs because these organs sometimes tackle issues outside the country and consequently cause us big problems with brotherly and friendly countries through their use of the style of insulting foreign presidents.

I would like to tell you in all frankness that in the future I will never tolerate any paper, be it public of private, to interfere in others' affairs. If it wants to criticize, it has the right to do so; however, insulting people and foreign leaders will not be tolerated at all. We cannot teach lessons to others. The credibility of mass media and the integrity of the professionalism of this dynamic and strategic institution of Algerian society is a noble factor. We hope that this institution preserves these basic and sacred principles, and acts in a responsibile way to inform the Algerian citizens in all frankness and with no exageration. I say sometimes that we regrettably note that some paid pens are used to write articles to destroy this or that. This behavior does not contribute to the education of society regarding genuine democracy, nor does it help Algerian society overcome this crisis experienced by the Third World and even by some other countries that sometimes lead us in numerous fields.

We should not lecture others while we ourselves need to learn from their experience. As the saying goes: "Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones." Therefore, we should not stick to old philosophies and keep on criticizing others, damaging the situation, creating problems for Algerian diplomacy and even for the Algerian economy. [passage omitted]

Naturally, there are some voices and some talk saying: Will the president of the Republic stay or not? It is as if the president of the Republic has a contract for working in a workshop of one of the parties. There is no one who can give me a complex in this field and, thanks be to God, the Algerian people know all their sons who are responsible—including in the long term. Our own concern, efforts, and work are aimed only for the public interest and for the sake of creating an atmosphere which allows Algerian society to accomplish this economic and social interest. [passage omitted]

I affirm and say to my brothers that we are determined that the elections will be held on 26 December 1991 and we will provide the necessary conditions and reassure all the brothers, the political parties, and associations, and the citizens in general that the elections will be impartial in the true sense of the word. I know the meaning of this word and this commitment is from me personally because we are confident in ourselves, in our cadres. We have also trust in the government and that it will provide all these conditions so that the elections will be impartial and the Algerian people will make their choice, with every respect shown to them, and we will respect the will of the majority of the Algerian people as far as their choices are concerned.

I will say frankly that this is not the end of the task, and I said so to some party leaders, in my previous meetings in 1990 so that I would be clear before some parties get involved in calling for early presidential elections. Many parties who are today issuing calls expected me not to deal with this subject; I told them I (?am grateful), however, I have a commitment to the Algerian people. I have a mission but we must be logical and objective,

when we complete the operation, we must complete it totally and we will leave things for the will of the people. Good, this does not mean that after we arranged things we would go back on these. When circumstances are right—many brothers, officials and even parties are still expecting me not to deal with this subject but I am determined and I will tell you—when the circumstances are right we will provide the necessary conditions and we will complete the operation with early presidential elections. In these, the same method of democracy and transparency will be practised in all calmness.

I hope that all the brothers, the sons of this nation, the parties, and the associations will contribute for the sake of lessening the burdens on the Algerian society so that we complete this operation. I personally am serious and sincere in what I say. Thank you, and may God's peace be upon you. [applause]

Prime Minister Ghozali Interviewed

LD2310123291 Algiers ENTV Television Network in Arabic 1942 GMT 18 Oct 91

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Sid Ahmed Ghozali by Abdelkader Maam and Madani Ameur; from the "Event" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Ameur] Sid Ahmed Ghozali, in your first statement after your appointment you said that the first aim of your government's program is to create the conditions for free and clean legislative elections. In your opinion, after all that has happened, and while we are now entering the election campaign officially, have these conditions been created?

[Ghozali] Allow me to say that I have heard the term interim government used, and some use the term temporary government. This is not the official title. This is the Government of Algeria, and every government is temporary. [passage omitted]

I am happy to take this opportunity to tell the Algerian people about the outcome of the whole operation since the formation of the government. In order to evaluate the outcome we have to make a comparison between the pledge and the contents of the new law.

The first question to ask is: Does the electoral law conform with the government's pledge, the personal pledge that was made before the people on 9 January, to carry out free and clean elections? I am obliged to explain things, in light of the debate and the atmosphere which prevailed, in particular, in the media and as a result of the political practices of certain political leaders—an atmosphere of ambiguity and disquiet.

I begin with the summing up. I, as head of government, hereby declare that the law delivered to us by the National People's Assembly conforms with the government's capability to accomplish its program within the conditions which we have declared; namely, in terms of content and of time. Therefore, it is necessary for the people to know that the current situation is such that we can say that the government is able and ready to fulfill its promises on time, God willing. What did the government try to obtain? Legal and organizational conditions to ensure that the elections can truly be free and clean.

The previous law aroused doubt in the people's minds, first, because at the time, the text of the law concerning administration control—the administration led and supervised the electoral processes—was ambiguous, allowing the administration to do anything it liked. Since through this new law the National People's Assembly has granted us... [changes thought] to allocate a guard at every phase of the electoral processes, beginning with revision of the electoral lists through to the presence of candidates' and party representatives at polling stations, keeping watch on the administration during the electoral, collecting, and counting processes. There will not be a single moment when the ballot box is left unwatched; furthermore, representatives of the parties will be present. There are instructions to be issued to [word indistinct] and so forth.

The second point is the issue of independent candidates. As you know, under the the previous law, since the Constitution gives every Algerian the right to stand as a candidate, in practical terms, the previous law had erected obstacles. The candidates were obliged to collect 500 signatures ,in addition to the 500 signatories they had to take along to the governor. This was somewhat embarrassing. In this field, the National People's Assembly has given us more than we asked for. It has given the government more than it asked for. Now the number of signatures has been reduced from 500 to 300 and the number of signatories the candidate has to collect and take along in order to certify his candidacy to 15, or five percent. This is very reasonable.

Regarding age, the government proposed 25 as the age of the candidate; in the previous law it was 30. We said that attention should be paid to the young people by political groups and the country's institutions, and we thus proposed 25 as the age. The National People's Assembly confined itself to 28. But the question of age is not likely to affect the credibility of the government's ability to hold clean elections.

There remains one point of contention: voting by proxy. The new law entitles any man or woman to vote on behalf of their marriage partners on the mere production of the family book. The government was of the opinion that this clause contravenes the constitutional clause stating that the voting right is personal and has to be exercised individually. On this point, the government did not feel comfortable. We asked the president, since this is one of his powers, to submit to the Constitutional Council... [changes thought] We said that there is a difference of opinion between the National People's Assembly and the government so let us refer to the Constitutional Council; that is the only way. To refer to the Constitutional Council is not an evasion. The council will take a stance and has 20 days to do this. We, the

National People's Assembly, the government and the head of state, and this is the basis of the state of the law, are all subject to, or within our rights to refer to, the Constitutional Council.

There remains the second part of the law which is the number and the law of the division of electoral boundaries. The previous law was defective in that the division was effected without criteria. There was no criterion, before or after. That made some doubt the intention or soundness of the boundaries. We tried to improve the situation. First of all, in the government bill, before the boundaries were drawn up we asked about criteria; in other words, the rules of the game. We took simple and public criteria which are verifiable. The boundaries were drawn up in accordance with those criteria. The National People's Assemly did the same, which is a gain. Although the criteria it chose were not the same as those chosen by ourselves as a government, there were actual criteria, which makes for very important progress.

After assessing the new bill, there remained an important point. We tried to see if the bill contained any defects or shortcomings as far as equality among Algerians is concerned. As you know, it is not possible for us to achieve absolute equality, in the mathematical sense, among Algerians. That is impossible. Any action in this field can only achieve a minimum of equality. For example, the number of inequities we noticed in the previous law was probably in excess of 168. In the government's bill, it dropped to 12. In other words, there was tangible improvement. In the new law, the number of inequities varies between 35 and 40.

In our opinion, as far as the division of electoral boundaries is concerned, the new law does not contradict the objective of electoral fairness.

What remains is the number. We warned. We warned again and again. We warned the National People's Assemmebly. We said : You must guard against inflation of the number. The number of the deputies was 295. The previous law raised it to 542. This is not logical. In our project we reduced it to 373. The deputies raised it to 430. There is progress. They reduced the number by 110 from [word indistinct]. There is progress. This does not make us happy as a government. At the same time, however, we say and declare that neither the number, nor the inflation of it, nor the fact that it does not satisfy us, as a government, is going to affect the fairness or the honesty or the freedom of the elections.

[Ameur] On this point in particular, it appears that there was a procedural element; namely, the amendments for example—when they were studied by the legislative committee they were directly approved; that is, the government was not consulted on the amendments that took place. I think it was necessary for the government to demand this right before the beginning. [sentence incomplete as heard]

[Ghozali] Here the internal statute of the assembly comes nto effect. You know that whatever draft bill a government may submit it does not reduce the sovereignty of the assembly. The assembly is the master. It can make amendments in any way it wishes. It can present a bill as it is or make it into two parts or change it entirely. This is the law. Therefore, it was our wish to see the new law before it was put to the vote. However, this is another matter.

The important thing is that we took 24 hours after the vote in order to evaluate and look carefully at the new law. We evaluated it. We came to the conclusion that the new law gave us, gave the government the result which as a prime minister I worked hard to achieve—in my own name, in the name of the government, and in the name of the head of state. We are not 100 percent happy with this law or these two laws. We are not 100 percent happy with them. But we must differentiate—I say it to the public—between the basis, what is important, and what is better. [passage omitted]

[Maam] Mr. Prime MInister, despite everything you you have done are you really satisfied with the content of the two electoral draft bills? If so, this would mean that we should give credibility to those people who used to criticize the old draft electoral bill. This also means that there were flaws in it and, therefore, things were not going to be well organized.

[Ghozali] I swear by God that the strange thing that I have noticed is the fact that people who criticized the new bill did so even before they had read it.

[Ameur] Are you referring to your bill or the old one proposed by the previous government?

[Ghozali] I meant the bill which the National People's Assembly has just passed. I swear that the comments you have heard from various political leaders that were made even before they read the draft proposal. Why? They had read the the press reports. You know the atmosphere that prevailed during the discussions in the assembly; many untrue things were said. I suggested that before making any comment or evaluation they should read the bill. All parties would, after having read the bill, say that it contained a number of positive points. Let us say that I was 90 percent satisfied with the bill. If such a bill gives me 90 percent satisfaction and is not detrimental to the heart of the matter, then I will not play tricks with the country's affairs. We should organize the elections, and we should organize them in a suitable time. We should finish with this political (?game). We should address our efforts to the country's everyday problems.

We should not say here that the citizen is not interested in the legislative elections; he is interested, he is interested. However, there are other problems and, therefore, we should not focus our efforts solely on the legislative elections.

[Maam] I was trying to make a point about the old electoral bill. It was flawed. We were heading for elections at a time when the latter could be held in a legal

manner. Does this mean that those who criticized the previous bill were right, in your opinion?

[Ghozali] Of course they were right. And it was criticized by the majority of the people. Although I was in the government I did not put myself forward for the elections. [passage omitted]

I did not put forward my candidature because, as I told my friends, if members of the government are going to fight elections it is like perjury. Therefore I refused to commit perjury. I can say here the great majority of politicians had criticized this bill. One of the things which might be a proof of my sincerity when I assert that the new bill will allow the holding of free and fair elections is the fact that when I thought that the old bill was not going to allow free and fair elections I took a stance and I rejected it.

[Ameur] After the extensive consultations that you held with the parties at two national meetings, some party leaders made statements saying that this was not the agreement—that is, there was to be an attempt to have a law fulfilling all the undertakings made to the parties, but in the event the two bills were were sent to the parties before being submitted to the assembly.

[Ghozali] No; let me clarify. I have carried out all the government's undertakings. We undertook to hold a dialogue with the parties and listen to their ideas. [passage omitted] The parties should read the laws and familiarize themselves with them. They should not pass judgement before having seen the laws. What I undertook was to organize free and fair legislative elections. Where the previous law did not permit that—and I was a member of the previous government—I took a stand. The new law, despite the fact that it is not exactly the draft submitted by the government, allows the government to fulfill its pledge.

[Ameur] Do the freedom and fairness of the elections depend exclusively on these laws?

[Ghozali] No. The National People's Assembly has played a role; it gave us the necessary tool which allows us to have these elections. The ball, however, is now back in the government and citizen's court. [passage omitted] This is what made me slightly change the structure of the government so that we can concentrate on weak points and on priorities—which are the economy and economic affairs; first, the economic difficulties; second, heath issues; and, third, training and employment as well as the communication sector and the internal sector. When we say that the ball is in the government's court, we mean that the government should make efforts to restore the citizens' confidence and pay increasing attention to the everyday problems of the citizen. It should ensure that the law is respected and preserve security in the streets.

As we approach the election date there is perhaps the question of cleansing the political atmosphere. One hand cannot clap by itself. This concerns all of us. Naturally the government has a very important role, but the parties should also work to the same end. By saying that the ball is in the citizen's court I meant that the citizen should begin to think what he is going to do on 26 December, election day. The citizen should be very much aware that this is an important and fundamental phase. He should prepare himself to vote—to participate. As I have said, we gauge the success or failure of this government according to the voting turnout. [passage omitted]

When the citizen votes he will be appointing the new government that will undertake all these tasks. He cannot blame anyone else if he does not participate in the voting and as a result a government comes to power that will not do these things. After the voting the government that takes office will be regarded as having stemmed from the people's will. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] Even at this stage we notice that you say the laws have satisfied you to a certain extent. We also sense an undeclared direct support for the government by the head of state, particularly in the speech in which he invited the electorate to vote—there was an invitation to support the government. Does this invitation entail support for the policy of Sid Ahmed Ghozali as an individual or is it just support for the work of the government as a whole?

[Ghozali] It is not for me to say what is in the head of state's mind, but I can tell you how I understood his remarks. I understood them as support for the government's action and program—the program of the government is known. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] Concerning the government, interim or not interim. Two days ago you introduced a structural reshuffle. We have seen that this government was formed after lengthy consultations, discussions, and so on. This reshuffle has touched some vital sectors, such as the economy and communications, as you mentioned. What was the factor that induced you to introduce this reshuffle? Was it necessity, trust, ability? What were the motives behind your action?

[Ghozali] First, the government was formed within three days. The consultations took as long as 14 or 15 days, but the government was formed in three days. This partial change was not on the spur of the moment; it was planned. More than a month ago I spoke to the president about what I should do after the end of the state of siege, the vote on the new electoral law, and the announcement of the election date. I said I should start the new era by giving a new impetus to or reinforcing some points in the government's activity. The aim is not political nor is it based upon the ability of the brothers who have left the government. A minister has a talent in some aspects. We must take experience into consideration. The topic we wanted to stress was for example the economy. As you must know very well, the country is experiencing economic problems on all fronts. All these problems require close coordination between the Ministry of Economy

and the other ministries concerned. All, or maybe the majority, of the remaining ministries are concerned with this coordination.

Time is against us, time is against us, and coordination must be decisive, close, and fast. Because of the extent of the financial problems and troubles in particular, I, as head of government, deemed it better to supervise the budget of the relevant ministries directly, the Ministries of Trade and Finance.

[Ameur] This was interpreted as a monopoly in the hands of the prime minister. He has great tasks which can be summed up in the duty of coordination and supervision of the government program, and he is greatly concerned with the economic side. How do you explain that?

[Ghozali] Really, it is not a monopoly. It is an attempt to improve coordination among the ministries and propel the ministers with greater force to deal with urgent current matters. It is not a monopoly; it is just that there are not enough hours in a day. If I could do less, I would. It is not love of monopoly.

[Maam] In other words, could we say that in a future and very short phase we will be able to sense positive steps in this field, especially the economic field which is undergoing very acute problems, and other vital areas, in which we are currently moving toward strikes, especially in the field of oil. There is also question of continually increasing prices. These are all problems that the citizens face on a daily basis.

[Ghozali] Do you want me to tell you that the sheer fact that I am the economy minister means that issues will be solved in two days?

[Maam] Concern has to be focused here.

[Ghozali] No, anyone who claims to be able to solve the country's problems, which have accumulated over many long years, would be lying to you. However, it is very possible to move at greater speed and to give the people scope for hope. Let us talk about the social situation; the oil strike in the south. It relates to the services firms, not the firms that manage the fields, prospecting, drilling firms, and so forth. The subject is known and very simple. The Sonatrac company increased the wages of field employees. The other independent firms operating in the same domain did not, and so their employees have asked for the levelling of their wages. Obviously, this is one of the issues that are not so difficult to solve.

There is a strike by Algerian Airways. According to information I have received, the brothers who took part in the strike did not form the majority. They reverted to more modest and reasonable demands and I believe that they reached a settlement last night. But this is not enough to answer your question.

[Ameur] I would like to pursue this aspect in particular, the social aspect. Let us begin with a name that is now being heard by every Algerian, and coming up daily in the various media: the IMF. [passage omitted] Why did Algeria go to the IMF? What about the commitments it made Algeria undertake? Why and what commitments have resulted from this recourse to the IMF?

[Ghozali] What has led this subject to be more discussed in the Algerian arena than it used to be? I would like to remind you that we have been dealing with the IMF for many years. It is called the international fund, and we are contributors to it. It is a small contribution, but this is an international fund set up to assist states suffering financial harm, countries which have a problem of balance of payments. Countries which have no hard currency. That is it, countries which have no hard currency are assisted by the IMF. What is new, however, is that for the first time, and this is the new style of action adopted by the government, we are talking about this openly and announcing it; in the past this used to be done secretly. Secret even to members of the cabinet. I was a member of the cabinet, and the cabinet never knew that there were secret negotiations and that a secret contract had been signed. The contract was signed in April 1991. [passage omitted] Look, I have here the letter that the government representative signed with the IMF. At the same time, that is in April, the contract between the government and the Algerian General Workers Union [UGTA]. On the one hand, the government undertakes with the UGTA to maintain buying power...

[Maam, interrupting] The same salaries.

[Ghozali] At the same, it undertakes in the agreement with the IMF, first, to devalue the dinar in August, and, second, to reflect the negative aspects, or in other words, implement the repercussions of this devaluation on prices. The new thing is...

[Maam, interrupting] In other words, [words indistinct]

[Ghozali] It is not the increase in prices or the liberalization of prices, because there is a law from a year and half ago. A law which the National People's Assembly had voted for liberalization of prices. There is the law of 31 December 1990, the financial law, article 83 of which devotes 27 billion dinars to subsidizing the prices of some essential commodities, maintaining the prices of essential products [words indistinct], and it says that if these 27 billion are not enough, the government must raise prices. But, brothers, everything used to be handled so secretly. The journalists, for example—I have read many articles saying that this government has been formed to devalue the dinar. I have implemented an international obligation. Second, I have announced it, so that it does not remain a secret; I devalued the dinar by 22 percent.

[Ameur] Is it expected by the citizen now to say that during the term of Ghozali's government the dinar was devalued, my buying power has been negatively affected, and so on? What he wants to know is: Is Ghozali responsible for this?, He holds you directly responsible because you announced the decision.

[Ghozali] I bear the responsibility of dealing with this situation. [passage omitted] As finance minister, foreign minister, and then prime minister I have always said: No matter what the government program is, no Algerian government is able to discharge its duty or fulfill its trust or implement its program without the Algerian people's participation. In order that the Algerian people can participate they must be convinced, and in order to be convinced they must be aware, at least, of their own affairs—you must provide them with the facts. [passage omitted]

[Maam] Mr. Prime Minister: Prices are now going up as from tomorrow with regard to four basic commodities; citizens are saying that in the last finance bill such price increases were frozen by the National People's Assembly and now the government is once again removing the price freeze and increasing prices. How do you interpret this?

[Ghozali] The increase in prices is within the jurisdiction of the government. It is not within the jurisdiction of the National People's Assembly. The law governing this was passed by the National People's Assembly itself in 1990, and this is a known fact.The government itself shall fix prices. We did not stop at that. We should not forget that the previous government allocated 27 billion dinars for subsidies. We increased that to 54 billion. Regarding the increasing of prices, we are compelled to implement the international commitments, but since the formation of this government we have been preparing new mechanisms to subsidize prices in an another form and in a more worthwhile way, and God willing we will announce these by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] Mr. Ghozali, there is one thing; there had been talk before about removing subsidies from essential commodities; that is, liberalizing prices in the market, but this would lead to price increases for those who are on low incomes. This has so far not taken place. Does the government program for 1992 officially include this, so that the trust factor is there in the eyes of the citizen? Do Algeria's international obligations at present allow a government to practise these suggestions, to approach these wide social groups for the sake of helping them?

[Ghozali] [passage omitted] We say the method of subsidizing prices directly does not benefit the citizen, the state, or anyone else in this country. Thus, instead of subsidizing prices at an artificially low level, we let sugar sell at 10 dinars and the difference between the market price and the subsidized price we give directly to the citizens.

[Ameur] How do you do that?

[Ghozali] By paying an allowance. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] Does the series of price increases in the widely consumed goods, petrol and other goods, have a ceiling that we cannot surpass? Does your government have such a ceiling? What increase limit can this government implement?

[Ghozali] This depends, first of all, on the capability of the government to achieve its projects regarding hard currency, the monetary issue, the monetary solution. We are suffering from a monetary crisis. The level of the hard currency reserve is nil, it is minus $1 billion, that is, 20 billion Algerian dinars. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] It seems to me here that we, in particular, as journalists, have not got a sound idea of this issue, and the public is in the same position. Regarding the grace period, this grace or freeze on the service of Algerian debts—we know that Algeria pays $8 billion a year approximately. Therefore, what is the reality behind this? We would like to state the following: We contacted senior officials, including officials in charge of the sector in question, the day the announcement was published. However, we were met with some hesitation and apprehension.

[Ghozali] Where did the announcement come from? Was it made by the government?

[Ameur] No.

[Ghozali] It was not made by the government then. Therefore, this announcement was malicious. Why should we make the citizen believe that there is any grace period regarding this issue. This is an operation which has been under preparation with French banks for about two and a half years, termed: Rescheduling of debts. [passage omitted]

Why should we give the citizen the impression that we have concluded deals with banks that allowed us to do this or allowed us a grace period? This is not true. What is more, matters have not yet been implemented. Up to now, all we have is words. For these arrangements to go ahead, the IMF should give the green light; and it has not yet done so. It is still awaiting the implementation of price increases and devaluation of the dinar. These are commitments and conditions which should be implemented for the IMF to give permits to the banks to make loans to us so that we can pay them back.

[Maam] This is what my question was about. It was about the devaluation of the dinar. Now, how low can the dinar go before the IMF agrees on this financial deal? What minimum threshhold would the dinar have to reach for the IMF to give its consent?

[Ghozali] Regarding the dinar, we are not going to enter into technical details. When we compare the value of the dinar to that of the U.S. dollar, we consider the dinar as merchandise. [passage omitted]

The value of the dinar is linked to the restoration of our hard currency reserves. This is what forced the government to take immediate action to put out the fire, as you said, in addition to prepararing medium-term solutions.

If we content ourselves with resorting to borrowing money from the banks on their conditions, and content ourselves with this policy, what would happen? We will leave behind to the incoming government the same

catastrophe that we inherited ourselves. This is what makes me say that we should not sweep the dust under the carpet, or hide everything and keep everything under a tight lid. Therefore, we should firmly fix the solutions to rid ourselves of these debts finally. Anyone who tells you that he can deal with the debt issue without having to resort to our own resources is a liar. Listen to me, gentlemen: You are aware of all the problems of the citizen, all of them. The cause behind each problem lies in the hard currency issue. Why are there no medicines in the pharmacies [words indistinct]? Why are there no potatoes in the markets? This is because national production has decreased, and there is no money to buy it from abroad.

Why are dozens of firms threatened with unemployment and liquidation? This is because they have no hard currency with which to buy the necessary materials or essential spare parts. [passage omitted]

There is another cause for this. It could well be the policy of investments. This absence of hard currency has affected the factories that are in operation, and has affected their productivity. This has a negative impact on investments. The investments have come to a halt; and when investments are halted this means creeping unemployment.

I have been insisting on this point for a very long time. People have been saying that I always talk about hard currency. It is impossible, it is absolutely impossible to safeguard our destiny if we do not find a final way out of the debts issue. For three years running, Algeria has been paying 57 percent, sorry 75 percent, I say 75 percent from its income in hard currency to pay off debts. This is unreasonable, and it has never happened before . This is in order to service the debts. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] Right, what is the solution to all these problems?

[Ghozali] The solution is to increase our incomes; the solution is to increase our own incomes. [passage omitted] Our human resources are frozen, we live in a vicious circle. We have no money because we do not work, and we do not work because we have no money; the human resources are frozen because we have no money, and we have no money because we the human resources are frozen. To begin with, we should find a mechanism, we should find a small amount of money. Such money cannot be provided by the bank. We have a chance, we have a big chance because we have resources in the depth of the earth, we have mines, we have oil and gas, and yet they are not used. This is because the previous policy was a bad one.

Those who claimed that I am about to sell our resources do not want the government to succeed; they have tarnished the reputation of the government. [passage omitted] Our oilfields boast a considerbale reserve. However, this reserve is under-used. I would like to give the following example: We are using these oilfields at the rate of 20 percent, or between 20-25 percent, whereas in developed countries such usage reaches up to 80 or at least 50 percent. Therefore, as soon as we increase this 20 or 25 percent usage to 50, this will tantamount to the gain or discovery of new oilfields; that is, we will have doubled our productivity. If we do not carry out this operation, we will lose this reserve; what is at stake will be the loss of $150 billion. We are sitting on $150 billion.

[Ameur] Is the the oil reserve currently available?

[Ghozali] No, this is the reserve that we are not exploiting, and which is threatened with collapse if we do not take measures in the technical fields to recover it.

[Maam] This is an extremely good method. However, there are those who say that if we resort to this method this would mean squandering our resrves; that is, the next generation will have nothing left.

[Ghozali] If we do nothing now, this means that we have already lost this reserve, we have lost it because we are doing nothing about it. Second, you realize that the country is under threat, the country is under threat, the economy is under threat because of the hard currency issue. This is what made me say that we have petrol and gas yet we are under threat, and if we do not use these resources, the oil and gas are cursed. If we cannot use them even to save ourselves, they are cursed. This should be at the expense of the reserve, this is because the figures that have been repeated for years are wrong. When people claim that we have reserves for 15 years, this is wrong, it is not true. One cannot talk about 15 years if one does not state the circumstances and the means that you use, to discover a new reserve and to recover part of the reserve that you are not using now. What we are doing now is absolutely not at the expense of future generations. I have children as well, and God willing, I will have grandchildren and great-grandchildren; we all have children and God willing we will all have grandchildren and great-grandchildren. [passage omitted]

[Ameur] However, if this operation is not implemented quickly, how can we face the situation that has developed? If you will excuse me, Mr. Maam, may I ask this question: According to my information, about $1 billion was deposited by certain companies in the treasury; however, part of this money was channeled toward paying off gold mortgage.

[Ghozali] No, you are talking about another operation. The operation we are talking about concerned laying a deep foundation for the final resolution. However, there some urgent operations that we have carried out because, as they say, " the pot is dry". What we did was to ask Sonatrac to contribute. I would like to profit from this occasion to renew my thanks to all Sonatrac employees, technicians, and engineers; because the company is contributing in an excellent way to finding a solution to this crisis. Sonatrac is selling oil in advance from fields under current operation, and the buying companies pay us part of the money before they receive delivery of oil. We hope that from June [words indistinct] to obtain, through this

method, $1 billion. So far we have obtained $250 million and more is coming. Part of the money received was used toward recovering a slice of the gold that has been mortgaged before. I would have preferred that such money could have been used toward purchasing medicine for example. It is the bank governor who makes the decision, and it is the prime minister who is accountable to the people. [passage omitted]

[Maam] It seems therefore that we are now like someone with no hope. This means that there are no projects being laid down by your government, or at least prepared?

[Ghozali] Regarding agriculture, we should rebuild dams. Agriculture does not mean dam building only; but do not forget that in 20 years we built five or six dams. We have a project to construct 70 dams. In the south of the country, there is a possibility of recovering at least 1 million hectares. May I remind you that irrigated land in Algeria does not exceed 200,000 hectares, whereas we have the potential, since there is underground water in the desert that would allow us to recover at least 1 million hectares. However, how can we recover this? We should encourage the citizen to go and work there; we should give them loans and facilities. We are preparing a program whereby, for example, I will tell the citizen with experience, of course, like a manager, that if he takes 1,000 hectares in the south I will lend him $5,000 to dig a well, and so on. This could well yield results before embarking on the policy of dams. [passage omitted]

Regarding the recovery of the country's capital, do not forget that 10 years ago bank reserves were over $2 billion; today they are nil. As a result of these operations related to mines and oil, if we were able to receive $6 or $7 billion, and this is extremely likely, the citizen will start to see the light, and emerge from the dark tunnel. The citizen will begin to see the light; however, this will not solve his problems. I do not believe, however, that the citizen is stupid and that he imagines that all these problems could be solved within the space of two or three months.

What is important is that I would like to assure the citizen that he has all the justifications and reason to be hopeful. However, the citizen should work, work, and work; there are no miracles, the Algerians should work. As a representative of the state, I admit that it is the state which is preventing the citizen from working because it is not assuming its responsibility. Nevertheless, the citizen should realize that his future is based on the extent of his work. The state will carry out its duties and provide him with the capabilities, the possibilities that he cannot get during the current circumstances. But the state should provide him with the capabilities to start producing so that he himself begins to produce hard currency, and then we will be able to overcome that vicious circle that we are going through. [passage omitted]

The Algerian citizen is called upon to work and be patient. There are problems and difficulties that we cannot solve. First of all, in the political field, the citizen should carry out his duty. Regarding the political field, I would like to tell the Algerians that they should all contribute towards the construction of the state of law and prepare for these legislative elections. I am not going to tell them whom to vote for; this is an independent government. I am not going to tell them to vote for party A, B, or C. No, I am telling them to go and vote, go and choose, vote, vote.

Second, in the economic field, they should work; and accordingly, God willing, Algeria will be able to recover its strength and set off again toward its future and toward the standard that it deserves in view of the human and material resources available to it. [passage omitted]

Egypt

Musa Comments After Damascus 5-Sided Meeting

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[Text] Cairo, 24 Oct (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa returned to Cairo from Damascus this evening at the end of a two-day visit to Syria, where he attended the meeting of the Arab foreign ministers participating in the Madrid conference.

In statements to a MENA correspondent, Musa said the results of the meetings were positive and were within the context of coordinating the parties' stands on the peace process and the stands of the Arab countries which will attend the peace conference, slated to be held on Wednesday. He said the main issues—both the organizational and objective issues—in the conference work were discussed during the meetings. He said it was agreed to continue consultations and coordination during the conference's various stages.

Musa said he had conveyed a message from President Husni Mubarak to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad. He said that his talks with the Syrian president dealt with the Egyptian and Syrian stands within the framework of coordinating Arab positions.

In his statements, Musa said the Arab position is based on the need to implement UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the land for peace principle, as they constitute a basis for establishing peace in the region.

Musa said the Palestinian delegation participating in the peace conference will stop over in Cairo for further consultations before leaving for Madrid.

Commenting on Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's statements, Musa said that these statements indicate unwarranted and uncommendable behavior. He said Egypt hopes Israel will change this attitude so a suitable atmosphere for negotiations can be prepared.

Ghali Says Mideast Problems Can Be Resolved

NC2410140291 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Dr. Butrus Ghali, deputy prime minister for foreign relations and minister of state for emigration and Egyptians abroad, has said that the current problems among the parties concerned in the Middle East conflict could be resolved, especially under the existing desire to make peace as well as cooperation between the two superpowers. He added that Egypt and Israel managed to overcome the problems that existed between them and made peace. He noted that there is an Arab backing for the peace process and a desire to achieve peace. Egypt, he said, believes the framework for concluding a peaceful settlement should be based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as well as the land for peace principle.

Ghali stressed that Egypt attaches particular importance to Europe's role in achieving peace. He pointed out that security and stability in the Middle East will help promote cooperation between Europe and the Middle East.

Syria's Al-Asad Phones Mubarak on Peace Process

NC2410114191 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1100 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad telephoned President Husni Mubarak this morning. They discussed the latest developments in the peace process and the Madrid conference.

President Mubarak Discusses Chances for Peace

AU2410130291 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 24 Oct 91 pp 38-40

[Interview with President Husni Mubarak by Lucian O. Meysels; place and date not given: "We Want To Mediate"]

[Text] [Meysels] We are already in the second half of October. Do you still believe that the planned Middle East conference will start on 29 October?

[Mubarak] As a matter of fact, we still hope that it will be possible to hold a peace conference before the end of this month. We are maintaining intensive contacts with all parties in and outside the region in order to remove all differences of opinion that still exist, so that we can finally all sit down at the negotiating table and discuss the basic problems whose solution would lead to a just an lasting peace in this region, which is so important for the whole world. All parties would definitely benefit from the conclusion of a peace agreement, and all parties will suffer if instability and unrest should continue to prevail in the region.

[Meysels] Are you in favor of the formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, which seems likely at this point?

[Mubarak] Egypt has always advocated a joint delegation of Palestinians and Jordanians. We believe that this will enhance peace efforts. A decision must be made, however, by the parties involved. We believe our task is narrowing the gap between various positions and playing an active role in the mediation and the removal of obstacles. From the very beginning, Egypt has been trying to settle the Palestinian issue. It is important for us that a peace conference is held and that a dialogue begins, that the basic problems are discussed, that differences of opinion are eliminated, and that a peaceful solution is achieved.

[Meysels] Would the Palestinians be in a better situation today if they had participated in the Camp David peace process together with President Anwar al-Sadat?

[Mubarak] Of course, the situation of the Palestinians would be better today if they had participated. When Egypt announced the convening of a conference (with Israel) in Cairo at the time, we naturally invited the Palestinians as well to participate in the negotiations and placed the Palestinian flag on the negotiating table. If they had attended the conference, the situation would be completely different now. The Camp David agreement consists of two parts. The first part regulates the relationship between Egypt and Israel; this part has been implemented. In March 1979 the agreement between Egypt and Israel was signed. As a result, Egypt was given back the occupied areas. Friendly relations developed between Egypt and Israel, and ambassadors were exchanged.

[Meysels] What about the second part?

[Mubarak] The second part deals with the Palestinian issue. It stipulates the withdrawal of the Israelis to security zones as well as their removal from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It also envisages the establishment of a civilian administration until self-administration is achieved after a certain period and until talks on the future are opened. There is no doubt that this regulation would be better than the current situation, which is characterized by the military occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The Palestinians have lost a great deal of time. During this period it was possible for the Israelis to intensify their settlement policy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

[Meysels] Does this mean that a chance was wasted?

[Mubarak] Yes indeed. I call the Palestinian-Israeli conflict "the process of missed opportunities." Since the beginning of the conflict, numerous chances have been wasted. In 1947, the United Nations agreed on a division that would have made possible the establishment of an Israeli and a Palestinian state side by side. The Palestinians rejected this proposal at the time. I hope that we all—Arabs and Israelis—will learn from history and make use of the chances for peace. Nothing is more valuable than peace for all peoples.

[Meysels] Israel is against the PLO representing the Palestinians. Do you think that it would be advantageous to recommend the Palestinians to change their leadership, not least because it discredited itself because of 'Arafat's behavior in the Gulf war?

[Mubarak] The right of the Palestinian people to a home and to their own identity must not depend on the behavior of its leadership in a conflict like the Gulf war.

[Meysels] Have you received a final reply from Israel and the Arab countries to your proposal to halt settlements against lifting of Arab trade boycott?

[Mubarak] Israel has rejected this proposal. Some Arab countries reacted in a reserved way. The aim of our proposal was the creation of a favorable climate for talks which should lead to a peaceful solution. The proposal was realistic and practical because Israel has established settlements in over 60 percent of the occupied territories. The continuation of this policy will make future negotiations very difficult. At the same time, one must not forget that the Arab embargo is a formal matter without practical consequences. A real embargo does not exist, and numerous companies have found ways to carry out business.

[Meysels] The Middle East conference is assumed to begin with a formal opening session. Afterwards, Israel is to hold separate talks with its neighboring states and Egypt. Are there still topics Egypt wants to discuss with Israel in this connection?

[Mubarak] As a matter of fact, Egypt is an acceptable party and a partner that maintains good relations with all other parties. Thus, Egypt is in a position to play an important role in narrowing gaps between different positions and in overcoming obstacles. Our country is very experienced in this field because of the negotiations it conducted with Israel for many years. In addition, it is quite familiar with the Arab reality.

[Meysels] Let us talk about another topic, the Gulf war. In view if the daily revelations and the aggressive plans of Saddam Husayn, do you believe that real peace is possible in the Gulf region so long as Saddam Husayn stays in power?

[Mubarak] I can only assure you that I will never cooperate with him. He once broke a promise he gave me. Thus, I can no longer maintain relations with him. The Iraqi people will have to decide whether he is to remain in power or not. We have our own traditions in Egypt and do not interfere in the internal affairs of other sates.

[Meysels] Do you think that the Soviet Union, which profited from the unstable situation in the Middle East in the past, will be able to play a positive role in the region?

[Mubarak] Despite its current situation, the Soviet Union is a major power with interests in the Middle East. The role of the Soviet Union is as important as that of Europe.

[Meysels] The media have mentioned your deputy Butrus Ghali as a possible candidate for the position of the next UN secretary general. Will you actively support his candidacy?

[Mubarak] Of course, we advocate the election of Butrus Ghali as UN secretary general. He is very experienced in the field international relations and well know for his wide knowledge and his vigor.

Arrival of 'Modified F-16C' Aircraft Discussed

NC2410164591 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1510 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 24 Oct (MENA)—Egyptian pilots trained in Egypt this afternoon landed the first batch of modified F-16C aircraft landed in an Egyptian air base this afternoon. The direct flight from the United States lasted 14 hours and covered more than 5,600 miles. The aircraft were refueled in midair nine times during the flight.

Lieutenant General Salah Halabi, Armed Forces chief of staff, was at hand to received the new aircraft at the air base. He welcomed the pilots, reminding them to keep up their fighting capability and high spirits.

Air Force Commander Lieutenant General Ahmad Nasr gave a speech on the occasion, saying that the arrival of these aircraft is part of the overall plan of modernizing and developing the Air Force. Under this plan, he added, we select the most updated equipment and aircraft, including the F-16, which is extremely capable and maneuverable. The arrival of these aircraft, he added, is a vivid demonstration of the complete freedom Egypt enjoys in contracting and selecting the weapons that best suit our circumstances. Lt. Gen. Nasr pointed out that this addition to the Egyptian Air Force underscores the attention given by the Egyptian leadership to the Air Force role in modern battles as a primary pillar for achieving the Egyptian strategy based on deterrence.

The air base commander, Staff Colonel Nasr Musa, spoke about the qualities of the modified F-16 aircraft, particularly with regard to their ability to absorb future technological advances in vast memory computers and make room for possible additions in loads and higher armament capabilities. He pointed out that the aircraft is marked by its night-combat capability at very low altitudes using navigation apparatuses, laser- and infrared-guided attack weapons, and highly advanced electronic warfare systems that enable it to perform under hostile offensive operations.

He added that all the Egyptian pilots operating this highly advanced type of aircraft were, for the first time,

trained in Egypt by Egyptian instructors who gained their experience by flying F-16C's for 10 years.

Visa Requirement for Jordanians Effective 24 Oct

NC2410173491 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1635 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 24 Oct (MENA)—A responsible source at Cairo airport has stated that effective midnight today, the new regulations concerning the entry of Jordanian citizens from abroad will come into force. The new regulations require Jordanian passengers to obtain entry visas from any Egyptian consulate prior to arriving in Egypt.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Rejects 'Idle Talk' in Madrid

PM2410130191 London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 25 Oct 91 pp 18, 19, 20

[Interview with Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi by Milhim Karam in Banghazi; date not given]

[Text] [Karam] Leader, you have been in Egypt and held protracted meetings with President Husni Mubarak. Is there a discussion of unity or cooperation at a certain level? And is it true that the Jamahiriyah has decided to settle thousands of Egyptians?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course, the Arab nation's unity is our preoccupation. Personally, when I meet with an Arab official, I automatically discuss the nation's unity with him. But President Mubarak and I dealt not with constitutional unity but with unity of action, of interests, of citizens as well as their interests, and with their implementation. Constitutional unity comes after that, as a culmination of these talks.

As for settling Egyptians in the Jamahiriyah, the desert contains a lot of water, and we invite all Arabs to come and settle.

[Karam] Our interview is taking place on the eve of the convening of the peace conference, which will be a turning point in Arab history. What is your view of its convocation and its results?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Idle talk.... I am certain that the Arab peoples do not agree to it. It is the U.S. election which prompted it and caused the United States to be enthusiastic, in order to secure votes for President Bush by portraying him as a conciliator achieving peace between the Arabs and Israel.

[Karam] What about the Maghreb Union? And is it true that the Jamahiriyah is cool toward it, as your absence from its recent meeting would seem to suggest?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] My absence does not mean the Jamahiriyah's absence. It was represented, and it is a member. Besides, I am not a president and it is not necessary for me to attend with the presidents. And the union is proceeding on the straight and correct path.

[Karam] Leader al-Qadhdhafi has changed and developed. In the past he represented violence and rigidity but now he represents flexibility, reconciliation, and efforts to bring views closer. Is this new approach the result of maturity and new convictions?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Let us say that it is the conditions which have changed. Besides, (laughing) only donkeys cannot develop their method.

[Karam] Talking of reconciliations, what stage has been reached in your attempt to bring together views between Sudan, Egypt, and Tunisia? And is it true that Libya is going to represent Sudan in the countries where it has no missions, or surprise the world by having a combined embassy for it and Sudan together?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Reconciliation between Egypt and Sudan is a unionist action to unite the Arab nation. Thus I am confronting disputes that obstruct unity. And it is not in our interests for a dispute to take place between Egypt and Sudan. I am still making efforts to achieve reconciliation. As for representing Sudan in states where it has no diplomatic representation, I believe that there is nothing to prevent us from representing Arab brothers or them from representing us if they or we are absent. And this applies to any Arab state, especially Egypt, Sudan, and Tunisia. So our endeavors are proceeding on a sound path. And we have divided the reconciliation endeavor into three stages, of which we have successfully complete two stages. The third is still ahead of us and we hope to pass through it soundly and happily.

[Karam] What about relations with Europe, especially Britain? Will they be fully and quickly restored?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Britain is subordinate to the United States. And we regard the U.S. and British position as a racist position that is anti-Semitic—not the Semitism of the Jews, but that of the Arabs. And now British and U.S. policy is against Arab Semitism. It is a racist policy that has no justification, and we do not need it. So if it [as published] desires relations with us on new foundations, let it come and negotiate with us.

[Karam] What about ties with Ethiopia, after Meles Zenawi's announcement that Ethiopia is not of Arab origin?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He did not say that it is not of Arab origin. He said that it is of Arab origin, but that Ethiopia exists as an entity called Ethiopia, whose inhabitants are known to have come from Yemen. The relationship with Addis Ababa is good, regardless of its origin, Arab or non-Arab. It is a liberation revolution, and we have cordial relations with it.

[Karam] And do you believe that Lebanon will recover fully?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Its recovery will be in proportion to its merger with Syria. As long as there are two states called Syria and Lebanon, there will be no stability. The reality is that Lebanon and Syria are one state. It is unionist steps which eliminate disputes, because they obstruct Israeli and European attempts at reactionary interference and fill existing gaps through which they can infiltrate.

[Karam] What about the fund for rebuilding Lebanon, which the Arabs endorsed and Saudi Arabia has financed with 160 million [currency not specified] out of two billion pledged—one billion by the Arabs and one billion by other world states?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No one has failed to perform his duty with respect to rebuilding Lebanon and restoring its health.

[Karam] With regard to the Green Book, is your position on it still the same, or do you now believe that it was set for a time that has yet to come?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The Green Book's time begins now, with the of the masses. The proof of this is that the Green Book predictions of years ago are being realized now. It was the Green Book which said that Yugoslavia would witness splits and separations, and so would the Soviet Union. No one expected what has happened in Belgrade and Moscow. The Green Book is the theory of this age, and it will be realized to the letter throughout the world.

[Karam] How do you explain the downfall of communism in most countries? And have the post-downfall stage and the alternative solutions reached an ultimate oasis of stability?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The reason for the downfall was that communism is an impractical theory and ideal. Thus it cannot succeed ideologically, because it is a theory suitable only for implementation through its bureaucratic nature. It was its bureaucratic nature which destroyed the revolutionary regimes. This happened because governments under communism run everything and monopolize leadership. That may be fine for them, but it is unrealistic.

[Karam] What impression did you get when you met with Lebanese Prime Minister 'Umar Karami?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He is a wise and an excellent man who reminds me of his brother, the martyr Prime Minister Rashid Karami. And we hope that the leaders we have lost will be succeeded by their sons or brothers. Prime Minister 'Umar Karami is a good and wise leader.

[Karam] Is the Jamahiriyah going through a phase of truce with the United States, or what?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The United States says things that it does not believe in. If it believes in the need for negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis after a conflict that has continued for generations and continuing occupations of Arab territories, how can it refuse to negotiate with Libya, even though there is no war or occupation between them except the treacherous, unjust raid? And the reason for its refusal is its belief that "Libya is a revolutionary state."

[Karam] Everyone senses more freedoms and openness in Libya. Is that a sign of a democracy that will complete its course?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Libya must be the real example of democracy and socialism, the new society in the new age.

[Karam] The Arab League is passing through a new phase and traveling a new path. Do you believe that it can revive Arab solidarity?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, it can. But only if it amends its charter and adopts new and courageous proposals. This is because we should not remain the past era in which it was formed. We must develop ourselves. And I have great confidence in 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid.

[Karam] As you have in all Egyptians. In fact, you have a soft spot for them.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, that is true.

[Karam] Islamic movements exist in the Arab world, and the rigid ones among them face opposition and confrontation in most parts of that world. What is your opinion of them, and do you believe that they have a political future, or are are they part of the past?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] This is one of history's cycles; it runs its course and then it ends.

[Karam] And has it run its course?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes—which is why it will definitely be extinguished. It is a revival of the atheist movement. They could succeed in Iran, Afghanistan, and India. And their names are the Renunciation and Repudiation, al-Da'wah, and al-Jihad. And the al-Isma'iliyah and Fortress of Death [qal'at al-mawt] movements and all the Batiniyah movements that came from Persia and Afghanistan and gave Islam their own color—on a limited scale, of course—are discordant movements in Islam and a deviation from its rules. And they have harmed Islam. They were fought in the past and destroyed, and what we see now is a revival of them, but it will not last long. What made them last longer was the fact that there were people suffering in an ideological vacuum promoted by colonialism, imperialism, and reaction, who took to them for that reason. But they awakened and abandoned them. That is, after they had searched for "yellow books" and adopted what came in them.

[Karam] What was the burden of your messages to Kuwait, Qatar, and other states?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Our opinion of Gulf conditions after the war.

[Karam] A French judge accused Libya of involvement in the shooting down of a UTA plane in 1989 over the Niger desert, as a result of which 170 people were killed. What is your comment?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No French judge can determine our responsibility without evidence or witnesses, or without listening to any of our officials. We pay attention only to what proceeds from proven incidents and unbiased justice. We are confident that we have nothing to do with the matter at all. That is not our method or our line. That judge is Jewish and his words are questionable, especially as he reached his hypothetical decision hastily and before the completion of the necessary legal procedures.

[Karam] It has been reported that the German authorities are pursuing some German companies because they contributed to setting up the al-Rabitah plant. What do you say?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] If there is anyone confronting companies that offered humanitarian work such as building a pharmaceutical plan, I will refer him to public opinion for punishment. Because no one accepts such practices. And I hope that Western companies will be boycotted. I do not welcome any foreign company in Libya for any business. We do not need them. We have our companies and we will strengthen their position. The billions taken by British, U.S., French, Turkish, and Italian companies should remain here for Libyans or their Arab brothers from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, or any other Arab country. We welcome that boycott.

[Karam] What new achievements has Libya made for its people? And what is the state of the Libyan economy, and what is the truth about and the benefit of the Great Manmade River?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] To me the most important achievement is the freedom for the Libyan people and their feeling that they have become masters of their own destiny. That feeling has been realized. And a final solution to the economic and political problem has been reached. That is stipulated in the Green Book. It is the most serious moral achievement, that is in addition to the numerous material achievements, most notably the Great Manmade River. And this means that the stories circulated about Libya to the effect that it spends its money on international terrorism were unfair and false. It also proves that we save billions and use them to build gigantic achievements that benefit our people, like these Great Manmade Rivers. Libya has become a model of the attentive state that has its citizens' interests in mind.

[Karam] Do you have any information about the release of new hostages, since you come forward with worthy initiatives in that regard in the past?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] We believe in and work for our humanitarian mission, which includes the release of the hostages and the prevention of new kidnappings. This is despite some of the policies of the states to which the hostages belong and their unjustified and unjust racist and hostile actions against Libya. Many people have asked us not to contribute to the release of the hostages, because we have students and prisoners detained in those hostages' countries who were arrested unjustly.

It is a rightful request, but nevertheless it did not prevent us from continuing our humanitarian march in helping the kidnap victims to regain their freedom.

[Karam] What is the truth about Imam Musa al-Sadr's disappearance and the accusation that Libya was behind it?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] What saddens us is the association of Imam al-Sadr's disappearance with his arrival in Libya. We denounced and condemned that. And I emphasize to you that Libya has nothing whatsoever to do with that affair, which reveals a line in which we do not believe. And I informed Prime Minister 'Umar Karami of our willingness to contribute to the best of our ability to exposing the truth about that painful matter. And we will spare no pains in that regard. We agreed with Prime Minister Karami on that and on exerting every effort in that direction.

It concerns me to say a word: We are not against the staging of a strike every year on the anniversary of the Imam's disappearance. And I advocate paying such attention to and holding such a ceremony for the martyrs: Ma'ruf Sa'd on 6 March, Kamal Junblatt on 16 August; Rashid Karami on 1 June, and Shaykh Hasan Khalid on 8 May, that is on the anniversary of their deaths, in order to stage public mourning. The invitation comes from all politicians. It is an idea intended for all Lebanese, and I hope that they will respond to it in order to expose the murderers of these great martyrs.

Al-Qadhdhafi Comments on Decentralization

LD1810183591 Tripoli Libyan Television Network in Arabic 2005 GMT 17 Oct 91

[Address by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to the Basic People's Congress in Banghazi on 17 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] The thing I observed was that despite the good establishment of popular authority in Libya, administration is centralized. We would like this issue to be raised by any congress, at any time, or by any citizen who is a member of the congress or by a municipality or by a people's congress at whatever level. I have not heard anyone... [changes thought] We (?not) heard a complaint concerning nonimplementation of the resolutions of the people's congresses by any people's committee. No one said that the cause was that the administrative system was not proceeding along with popular authority.

Popular authority means that each area is self-governing and self-managed. Self-management of the village or the town or the branch or of any place means complete authorization to manage yourselves. But if the key of this power that drives this management is to be found somewhere else it cannot move. If we make a number of

cars and their keys are taken away and afterward we later want to move the cars, how can they move? [passage omitted]

Popular authority was formed this way and its formation was very good. It has no parallel in the world from the legislative point, the executive point, the control point, the revolutionary point. We have revolutionary inciters, and we have revolutionary committees at each people's congress. [passage omitted]

In truth, I see that they do not possess any power. The lack of power affects this historic experiment. It is seen by the world as being incapable of being managed. It is not incapable but it is us who deliberately made it incapable. We took the power and gave it to the (?operational) specific people's committees and the general people's committee. Consequently, these have become bodies that are as if they were dead. There is no life in them.

I have chosen the Banghazi congress to address all the Jamahiriyah from this platform. The powers of government, the administration, and management must be reexamined. It is because I see that the state in which we are proceeding will kill the jamahiri system. Anyone of you should have been bold enough to say this and demand the destruction of centralism and the system and the power should become horizontal like the popular system and not pyramidical as they are now.

I asked the secretary of the people's congress Banghazi: What can you spend in a year? He said: 1 million [currency not specified]. Each municipality can spend 1 million without consulting anyone. It is part of its jurisdiction to spend up to 1 million. Anything over this the municipality must ask permission from the general people's committee. [passage omitted]

We should drastically consider powers. They should not be confined to municipalities. They must be extended to localities [mahallat]. Normal problems as felt by the citizen exist in the localities. Information required about the citizen is to be found at the localities. [passage omitted]

What is required of the people's congresses is to issue legislation demolishing centralization and revolving powers all the way to the localities. The budget should be wholly distributed at the outset so each one knows its own budget and puts it to use. This should be done while taking into consideration the fact that the concern of the Central Bank and the general people's committee for the treasury and the specialized people's committee and the general people's committee for centralization is a result of their concern for public money; we should not give irresponsible people extensive power. [passage omitted]

We have to think of legislation dividing the Jamahiriyah into localities. If the division already in place works, fine. If it has to be reconsidered, so be it. Powers have to be extended all the way down to localities.

As far as I am concerned, I do not accept anyone's boast that he knows more than the Libyans [word indistinct] or that he cares more about anything for the sake of the Libyans. No. Libyans are here and therefore they should, themselves, take care of their property, their country, and their independence.

Someone who is an Israeli agent has said that he cares for Libya; he wants to liberate Libya. Since when did the Israelis start thinking about Libya? It is as if Libya has no one who can think for themselves! So how come you are working for the Mosad here? By God, the nature of the struggle required me to work even with Israelis, he replied. Why? In order to liberate Libya, he answered. Why? Do you think her people do not exist? And that if she really needs to be liberated her people are unable to liberate her?

How about you, what are doing with American intelligence? We are collaborating with American intelligence in order to resolve Libya's issues, they replied. Libyan issues! Has not Libya had its own inhabitants and its own people who can think for themselves? Look at the lackeys of agentry!

However, maybe there is someone here in Libya who might assert that he knows more than the Libyans or cares more about Libya's future than the Libyans themselves. Good, who is he?

I have always been asserting at my meetings with the basic people's congresses that they should exercise self-management. For example, Tripoli municipality and its people's committees should be in permanent session. However, I have found that was not going well and that people did not have power. The structures were there but they could not move.

One must resort to a radical solution. I am not afraid of people. I do not doubt that people can manage their affairs. I do not belittle the value of people. The people are in every locality, every branch and every municipality there are thinkers, competent administrators, and engineers. There are wise people who know how to deal with the affairs of their country. Basically, we are against treating the masses with disdain. What is the problem between us and the rulers? The rulers of the Arab nation hold the masses in contempt. Each of them treats his people like a flock of sheep.

We must destroy this thought—the thought of haughtiness; the concept of the elite. There are people whom we consider to be very dangerous to Islam because they came up with the idea of al-Takfir, Hijra, the call and Jihad, the Muslim Brotherhood. They think they are the ones who have know the religion and they brand us infidels. [passage omitted]

The concept of the Jamahiriyah means doing away with the government, the president, the guide. People will start to govern themselves and lead themselves by themselves because they are the best judge of their own affairs. [passage omitted]

What we are getting ready for now is the preparation of legislation dividing the Jamahiriyah into localities and for devolving power to the base, which negates the specialized people's committees. These are necessary regulations where all strings subsequently meet. This will be a factor helping move the administrative infrastructure of the popular base.

So that the people on the specialized general people's committee do not rejoice in thinking that, thanks to God, we have got rid of the responsibility of this problem which is now in the jurisdiction of the localities, I say no, on the contrary, their responsibility remains and is important. Their existence is necessary as specialized general committees.

They tell me that the Banghazi municipality had to pay 600,000,000 in financial commitments. It has to pay this . If we have any interest in this municipality we should think: we have 73 factories in the city of Banghazi that were established after the revolution [applause] and these factories must have a... [changes thought] If we have any interest then we should think and say that these 73 factories ought to contribute toward the payment of these commitments that total 600,000,000. Over a period of two or three years, let us say, the 600,000,000 shall be met out of the production of these factories and then the municipality will have no debts. [applause] We operate these factories to their maximum capacities. There are agricultural projects. Look at the arable land and its potential—it contributes. But when we have no authorities we would be unable to do what we want in these factories. [passage omitted]

There are two types of ownership in this world—ownership in Russia and ownership in America. In Russia, the government owns everything and the people work for the government; they say it is the State but in the final analysis it is the government. [passage omitted] This has finally collapsed because the government cannot manage the cows, the chickens, agriculture, industry, coffee shops, restaurants, etc. [passage omitted] Within this system there is collective ownership; that is, 1000 people for example own a farm. There are also cooperative ownerships in addition to the government-owned—they have classified them as such. With government ownership you may find a farm of 1,000 hectare owned by the government that has 1,000 workers. These workers are paid wages. This has failed because the workers were employed by the government and used to manage an agricultural project. Public projects in Libya resembled that. The Sarir or the Kufrah or the Maknusah projects—why did the Kufrah project fail? It failed terribly. Instead of being a source of income, money is being spent on it. There was difficulty with the soil—this is because it is sand. We had to bring soil and fertilizers as well as artificial soil; this is because the Kufrah has no agricultural capability as the land is sand. Actually, this is one of the problems. The other problem is the long distance. Expenses incurred as a result. A project in an area as remote as this has become a failure. It failed because it was being managed by the State—by officials. [passage omitted] The system in which the State owns everything has collapsed—this is a type of ownership.

The other type says it is against socialism and against Marxism and Communism. This is what the West says. They say: We are capitalism. What is capitalism? You, Mr. So-and-so, can own 1,000 [word indistinct]—use them. If they bring you 1,000,000 in income give us one quarter of it and you can pocket three-quarters of a million. This is slavery and exploitation of man by man. [passage omitted]

This is capitalist ownership—it is the exploiting ownership. We cannot accept it. The true solution lies in jamahiri ownership, which it is not understood yet. I spoke about it to the judges. In jamahiri ownership we neither give ownership to a person to manage and exploit and enslave others in the process, nor is ownership given to the State. All these have failed. Capitalism has failed because there are some rich people and millions who are poor. If we restored capitalism to Banghazi there may emerge a very rich class, but the majority of the people of Banghazi would become workers, poor, and at the mercy of that class. [passage omitted]

If capitalism returns this will mean that we once again become rich and poor, masters and servants, respected people and people who are despised.This is out of the question; we cannot accept this. Therefore the correct ownership and the correct solution is jamahiri ownership, which now we should actually commence in applying. Jamahiri ownership means that these factories and farms and all these projects, utilities, and installations—which were established by the State as great efforts went in establishing them that individuals could not make—should be handed over to the people. They should not be handed over to an individual. [passage omitted]

The socialism of the State has collapsed because it is capitalist. Capitalism will collapse because in that system you have, for example, a millionaire opposed by millions of poor people, who one day will rebel against him. Workers are striking everyday—this means that there is refusal to work and a rejection of the capitalists. It means that the poor workers are refusing to work with you—the capitalist—because you have sucked their blood for your own benefit. How can they work for seven hours for you when you pay them the equivalent of two hours' worth and take the value of five hours? [sentence as heard] Striking means that the strikers are refusing to work with you. You are rich so look after yourself; we are striking. A State can go on strike; entire peoples went on strike against the systems of their states. Although that meant striking against their own interests, they went on strike. Therefore, all systems can fail. The Jamahiri system—socialism—is the only one that cannot fail—the system that we are talking about now. [passage omitted]

You have just complained about salaries and said that salaries are being delayed for two, three or four months. Let them be late. Whoever said that salaries were

secured? Since the revolution, I have been drawing your attention to the fact that salaries were not secured; they may be delayed for one or two months. Salaries may be cut off indefinitely. Have I ever told you to depend on oil or salaries? Go back to all that I have said to you over the past 20 years. I have always drawn your attention to this and said: please do not depend on oil. In actual fact, I lived with you during a period when the price of oil was five dollars per barrel [words indistinct]. That is it; we decided to shut down the wells and not to export and sell the oil to them for five dollars per barrel. After having been selling for 40 dollars per barrel the price reached five dollars per barrel. We were expecting that. The Kuwaiti oil was set on fire. Iraq is forbidden to export. Here is the oil. But has anybody imposed a ban on the Iraqi dates? Has anyone said Iraq is forbidden to own dates? The Iraqis are now living on dates. What you grow with your own hands you can have. Oil is something special that you have to sell abroad. They have closed the seas to them. They ask: what is this ship and where is it going? To Iraq, comes the reply. Go back, turn back, they say. Where did this ship sail from? The answer: from Iraq. They reply: Go back, turn back; it is forbidden. But has anyone said: You Iraqis are forbidden to have a palm tree? They now ban everything for Iraq, but if Iraq grows barley, wheat, rice, or dates, then these are not banned. Iraqis can do what they want to their palm trees and they are living on their dates now. Do not depend on salaries. If we pursue the method that we are talking about here whereby we distribute the ownership of the State among the individuals—that is to say not giving a large ownership to an individual where he will employ others as this means that we go back anew to capitalism and exploitation.... [changes thought] No, we would rather die and not go back to that, we shall fight in the streets so that capitalism shall not come back. [cheers, applause]. [passage omitted]

If we pursue this method in which ownership of all establishments and utilities is restored to the people we will not live on the oil; it will not affect us. The State will then use the oil to convert it into solar energy or atomic energy, or use it to make a Great Manmade River or for desalination of sea water—all this is possible. This is because in this system everyone will have self-sufficiency and have private ownership that he will manage by himself by his own effort. Then there will be no strikes. Then there will be no evasion of work, there will be no deception. There will be no neglected matters. Hospitals that are owned by the State are for the benefit of the people. Thank the State—any state in the world—because it has shouldered the responsibility of hospitals to treat the people free of charge. But when the poor State administers such a hospital it fails in its management. That is why we see public hospitals in poor shape. You all saw the university—Fatih University, the biggest university—when I visited it, I showed it to you. It was in a poor shape; you could not enter it at all. Why? Because it is owned by the State. It was built in 1984. Look at the Arab Medical University in Banghazi. Thanks to the students and doctors—in fact that they are all revolutionaries and I am impressed by them; they have high morale and were all at work although I paid them a surprise visit to. They had no prior knowledge that I was coming to visit them. But they complained to me afterward and said they were in need of millions as a budget for this university. I said: have you air-conditioning? They said yes. Why is it not working? I asked. They said: It is costly. We can manage and clean and pick up papers from the floor and have students come on time and on their best behavior, etc., but we cannot have the air-conditioning as that requires 1 or 2 million dinars; how can we do that? [passage omitted]

This is socialist ownership, which will be the one that will continue. This because people will live on it. We in Libya know that ports and harbors in Libya are owned by us all, and that the Maknusah or the Sarir or other projects we are talking about, or the Great Manmade River, or the huge Abu Kammash factory, or the Ras Lanuf factory or the huge petrochemical complex—which is threatened by America—are all owned by us, and the huge Brigah gas liquefication plant, etc. are owned by us. [passage omitted] But in actual fact and in practical terms we feel that they are as if not owned by us.They say that these projects are owned by us all; they are owned by the Libyan people. Their revenue goes to the Treasury and is used in payment of salaries and on other matters, and on weapons, and is also used for importing cars, etc. Therefore, in the final analysis we begin to cast doubt on the benefit of public ownership although it means our ownership. [passage omitted] Preparations should be made within a municipality for the application of socialism—Socialism that will never fail or come to an end; no one will be able to abolish it. Nobody can abolish your effort—your own ownership, which is sacrosanct. We pay our taxes and our dues willingly and at our own decision. [passage omitted]

The right way is for the state to build the project and the return it to the people, who as individuals with their own limited effort cannot manage a huge project—this should be managed by the state. But then the state should return it to the people. This is socialism. This is our revolutionary program.

UN Resolutions on Oil Sales Said Rejected

NC2410162191 Paris AFP in English 1550 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Baghdad, Oct 24 (AFP)—Iraq has implicitly rejected United Nations measures authorizing it to export a limited quantity of oil, charging that they will endanger the oil market, Oil Minister Usamah al-Hiti said Thursday. "The application of these two resolutions is very complex and can in no case serve the exports of crude oil nor the interests of the oil market," al-Hiti stressed in press remarks.

U.N. Resolutions 706 and 712 authorize Baghdad to sell up to 1.6 billion dollars' worth of oil for six months to finance the purchase of badly needed supplies of food and medicine. Al-Hiti said at the end of September that Iraq was ready to resume selling abroad but did not indicate if his country were willing to export oil in accordance with U.N. resolutions.

Before the Gulf crisis, Iraq exported oil through pipelines across Saudi Arabia and Turkey, countries that later cut off the flow in compliance with an embargo imposed on Iraq after it invaded and occupied Kuwait in August 1990. Earlier this month al-Hiti accused Turkey of having raised by 700 percent the fees charged for sending oil through the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline to the Turkish Mediterranean port of Yumurtalik.

Foreign Minister Sends Letter on UN Day

JN2410163291 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Ahmad Husayn has said that the aggression, tyranny, and oppression against Iraq, and the unjust embargo against the Iraqi people, totally conflict with the UN Charter and its principles.

In a letter to foreign ministers of world nations marking the 46th anniversary of the United Nations, he said that while Iraq recalls the principles of the United Nations, it stresses the need for a just implementation of the Charter's provisions and the UN resolutions without discrimination, so that the organization may not end up with a single country, or a few countries, controlling it and directing it from the position of power, using various forms of threats to influence its resolutions.

The minister explained that the distinguished status the Charter gave to the major powers that won World War II; namely, permanent Security Council membership and the right to veto the Council's resolutions, has been abused, and its objectives of bearing responsibility for world peace and security have been violated. During the cold war, for instance, the United States used its veto power dozens of times to block Security Council resolutions guaranteeing self-determination for the Palestinian people. Moreover, the United States opposed and did not respect the resolutions issued by the Security Council concerning the Palestine question, the Middle East, and the occupation of other Arab territories, which totalled more than 170 resolutions. Nor did it respect the resolutions of the UN General Assembly on those subjects, which totalled more than 400 resolutions, some of them acknowledging the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. This proves that the United States practices double standards when it come to resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly to serve its own interests and political objectives.

The foreign minister pointed out that in light of the current accelerating developments in the world, the Security Council has turned into an obedient tool in the hands of the large permanent member states, especially the United States, issuing resolutions that serve the interests and political objectives of those states, and using the United Nations to cover those resolutions with the label of so-called international legitimacy.

Mr. Ahmad Husayn added: If the developing countries were the victims of global conflict during the cold war, then today they are victims of the so-called new world order. There have emerged trends in the positions of the Nonaligned Movement and the developing countries to prove these facts. This was reflected by the speeches delivered by heads of those countries' delegations to the UN General Assembly during its current session. The speeches stressed the need for a speedy implementation of all UN resolutions, especially the Security Council resolutions, without discrimination.

The minister added that the Nonaligned Movement has also stressed the need for reforming the United Nations in a way that makes the decisionmaking process in the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, more democratic and flexible. The movement also urged reconsideration of the current number of Security Council members to reflect the increase in the number of UN members and ensure more balance and equitable representation of those newer members. He said the UN secretary general's annual report, presented to the General Assembly in its current session, has pointed out that the measures taken in the use of force were not adopted as accurately as stipulated for in Chapter 7 of the Charter, in which the Security Council allows for the use of force by a state, or a number of states, instead of the United Nations itself.

In his message, the foreign minister added that Iraq reaffirms its earlier warnings that the features of the so-called new world order, as have emerged so far, only show exposed interference in the internal affairs of other countries, great disregard for the rights of the developing countries, and selective policies, allowing certain countries to possess the arms they wish, including nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, while imposing a comprehensive embargo on other countries. The world community's leniency toward these practices and policies would turn the principles and provisions of the UN Charter into mere ink on paper.

The foreign minister pointed out that under the guise of international legitimacy, Iraq was subjected to comprehensive destruction targeting all facilities of life, including the economic infrastructure and civilian concentrations. The United States also led a 43-day aerial assault that did not spare any city or village in Iraq. Consequently, power-generating and conducting stations, oil refineries, bridges, irrigation systems, water-treatment plants, civilian factories, water-drainage systems, hospitals, schools, mosques, churches, baby-formula plants, grain stores, and civilian shelters were all destroyed. Some 319 citizens, the majority of which were children, women, and elderly, were killed in the ugliest aggression against the al-'Amiriyah shelter, which was built for civilians. Warplanes also dropped around 100,000 tonnes of explosives on the cities and villages of Iraq.

The foreign minister wondered: Was the destruction of an entire country, under the pretext of enforcing international legitimacy, one of the objectives of the United Nations? Is burying thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive in their bunkers one of the principles of international legitimacy? Is the continuation of the inhumane blockade against the Iraqi people an act of human rights?

The foreign minister asserted that the aggression, injustice, and tyranny practiced against Iraq and the unjust blockade on the Iraqi people diametrically oppose the principles and objectives of the UN Charter.

He added that various UN missions that visited Iraq have submitted reports to the Security Council after conducting field studies, in addition to reports by other international nongovernmental organizations which carried out the same tasks, all of which have emphasized the huge human disaster inflicted on the Iraqi people, particularly children and women. However, the United States and its allies, which are upholding slogans of freedom, democracy, and human rights, insist on maintaining this blockade and denying the Iraqi people basic foodstuffs, medication, and civilian needs, so as to achieve suspect political objectives.

The foreign minister added: The aforementioned missions and organizations have issued calls for ensuring humanitarian needs and alleviating the suffering of the Iraqi people. The United States, however, sought to issue two unjust and anomalous resolutions in the Security Council—Resolutions 706 and 712—to impose further unjust economic restrictions on Iraq, resolutions that are unprecedented in the history of international relations and do not have any basis or support in the UN Charter.

He added that it is no longer a secret that U.S. policies, which violate the rules of international law and norms that stipulate respecting sovereignty of nations and noninterference in their internal affairs, also aim to achieve political objectives, to change the ruling regime in Iraq and make the Iraqi people submit to the will of the U.S. Administration. The U.S. president announced this very fact at his news conference on 4 October 1991. I have explained, in my letter to the president of the Security Council on 8 October 1991, the dangers of these statements and their undisguised contradiction with the provisions of the UN Charter, particularly the paragraph 2, Article 1 and paragraph 7 of Article 2. I have also said that it is regrettable that silence should prevail toward such serious statements by the president of a superpower and a Security Council member. Connivance at such policies that contradict the principles of the UN Charter and international law will have serious consequences on world peace and security, and the United Nations itself.

The foreign minister concluded: If the aim is to make Iraq the first victim of the so-called new world order, then Iraq will not be the only victim; all Third World countries, and small countries in general, will be victims of the U.S. colonialist policy of hegemony which seeks to impose this new order. If the international community remains oblivious to the dangers of this policy and does not put an end to it, the long struggle of all nations to win their independence, sovereignty, and free, honorable life will have been wasted and waged for nothing.

Rebel Radio Reports Attacks on Weapons Depot

NC2410153091 (Clandestine) Voice of Rebellious Iraq in Arabic 1420 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Our heroic mujahidin are continuing their jihad operations against the dens of the tyrannical 'Aflaqite clique. They have achieved the following results:

First, they detonated a large weapons warehouse belonging to the criminal 'Aflaqites in al-Samawah, causing severe damage to the complex's buildings, killing five Ba'thist mercenaries, and damaging a quantity of heavy weapons including long-range artillery and expensive military equipment. The explosion was heard 10 km away. The Ba'thist executioners surrounded the area, fearful that the attack would be followed by other incidents.

Second, they detonated another large weapons store in al-Nasiriyah. In an ensuing fierce battle between the valiant mujahidin and the criminal regime's followers, 10 criminal Ba'thists died.

May God bless the arms of our brother mujahidin and our heroic revolutionaries. Forward. Victory comes from God.

Opposition Sources Comment on Regime's 'Fear'

JN2310171791 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1636 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, 23 Oct (SANA)—Iraqi opposition sources have stressed that the Iraqi regime's fear of the intentions of his entourage and cliques has recently escalated.

These sources said that the Iraqi regime issued orders to transfer the families of a group of official elements in this

regime to Tikrit. They were housed in a complex under special security measures, whose administration is linked to the Iraqi ruler's private office.

Also in this regard, the opposition sources said that the Iraqi regime recently carried out a series of hostile measures against sons of Iraqi tribes who rebelled over the regime's orders.

The same sources said that special instructions were recently issued to remove sons of al-Jabur, al-'Ubayd, and al-Dulaym tribes from important posts in the regime's forces and organs.

The sources explained that the regime's repressive authorities issued an order to expel Jawad al-Juburi, a leader of an Iraqi Army division, from his tribe after he joined an Iraqi opposition faction.

These sources stressed that a number of the sons of the mentioned tribes who occupy important posts, have left their posts after the bloody clashes between their relatives and the regime's forces last month in al-'Alam in Salah al-Din Governorate and in Ninawa.

Opposition Calls For Anti-Regime Congress

NC2410163091 (Clandestine) Voice of Rebellious Iraq in Arabic 1420 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] A group of nationalist and democratic forces has announced that toppling the criminal Saddam regime is the logical prelude to safeguarding Iraq's independence, emphasizing its sovereignty, and defending its unity. The group issued a statement in Cairo two days ago, urging all Iraqi opposition factions to hold a popular congress with all Iraqi political movements to formulate a plan and adopt a method for toppling the 'Aflaqite regime.

We wish to note that yesterday we broadcast a call by opposition leaders in which they urged the international community to establish safehavens in the south, along the same lines of those in the north. These leaders held an international conference in London from 18-20 October which was attended by dozens of well-known Iraqi notables. They decided to embark on a large-scale campaign to secure international protection for the sacred shrines which have been damaged by the criminal regime and to defend the ulema from persecution at the hands of this anti-people government.

SAIRI Leader on Opposition Unification

NC2410163191 (Clandestine) Voice of Rebellious Iraq in Arabic 1420 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] During an interview with his eminence at his office last week, Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim, chairman of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq [SAIRI], announced that efforts are underway to unite the Iraqi opposition and people. He noted that opposition to the regime is becoming a general popular movement. Al-Hakim said that it is necessary that a single political leadership uphold the Iraqi cause, and he emphasized that the criminal ruling regime is illegitimate.

We are undertaking a process of salvation and we have succeeded to a large extent, al-Hakim said, adding that we have high hopes of reaching our ultimate goal.

Al-Hakim discussed the national situation, saying that the economy is very bad and the people are suffering under catastrophic conditions. Although Iraq has huge economic capabilities, he said, it has been devastated by the policies of the 'Aflaqite regime. Political conditions have reached the point where someone can be killed for his political beliefs, he noted.

The SAIRI leader said that the nation's security situation is in a state of collapse and that the Ba'thist regime has admitted as much. The regime's recent operations in the north, he said, were aimed at gaining control of some important positions to preserve its existence. He pointed out that the regime has failed in its efforts and that the 22d Division and half of another division were destroyed in the attempt.

The SAIRI chairman said that the main roads in the south are no longer under the regime's control and that it is using helicopters in its attempt to regain control.

U.S. Said Turning IAEA Into CIA Center

JN2410111691 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0715 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Baghdad, 24 Oct (INA)—The newspaper AL-THAWRAH has warned the world community against turning the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] into a department of scientific and technological espionage for the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency.

In an article published today, the paper says: There are tangible facts and evidence that the U.S. Administration is working to turn the IAEA into an intelligence center to gather and steal information and secrets, whether through routine inspections or ones designed for specific purposes.

The paper noted that Iraq, which suffered and is still suffering from the tyranny and oppression of the United Nations, has warned against the perils of the exposed U.S. hegemony over the Security Council and the resulting pains for humanity.

AL-THAWRAH says Washington is still trying to adapt the UN's general activity and the mechanisms of its specialized bodies with a view toward turning them into easy tools in the service of the U.S. world strategy and into an international cover for Washington's rude and explicit violations of the main pillars of the international law. [passage omitted]

Turkish Elections Viewed, 'Positive Turn' Seen

JN2410153391 Baghdad INA in English 1450 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Baghdad, Oct 24, INA—Al-JUMHURIYAH newspaper of Baghdad said that victory of the Turkish True Path Party led by the veteran politician Sulayman Demirel indicated that the Turkish people were dissatisfied with the policy of President Turgut Ozal and his Motherland Party.

A paper commentary here today stressed that the Turkish people rejected Ozal policy toward Iraq, his strong support for the U.S. policies and resorting to an economic policy that led to the spread of unemployment, high prices and social and administrative corruption.

The paper paid tribute to the stand of the Turkish people and their respect for the relations of good neighbourhood and Islamic ties binding them with the Iraqi people saying that a majority of the Turkish people is aware of the importance and vitality of having Iraqi-Turkish relations based on common interests, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs in addition to working for maintaining just peace and stability in the region.

The Iraqi paper cited the negative impacts of Ozal hostile policy to Iraq on the relations of the two countries' people's [as received] and said that the Turkish president had tried to create a gap or a rift in the historic relations between Turkey and the Arab nation in general and with Iraq in particular.

The paper also cited Ozal harmful attempts toward the Arab-Turkish relations and said that his proposal of providing Israel with waters had instigated the surprise and astonishment of all Arabs because of the dangerous impacts of such action on the Arab nation.

AL-JUMHURIYAH further referred to the contradiction between Ozal attitudes and the will of the Turkish people especially over what concerns alliances and blocs saying that the Turkish people rejects the policy of blind tilt toward the American policy and turning the Turkish territory into a camp for launching aggression on their neighbours.

The paper expressed confidence that people's will that managed to impose this change in Turkey's political map would be capable of realizing a practical and positive turn contributing to resolving the economic problems in the country. It concluded by saying that Turkey, harmed by Ozal policy, needs to boost its independent course for maintaining security and stability in the region.

Paper Explains Abduction of Fishermen

JN2410111091 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0950 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Baghdad, 24 Oct (INA)—AL-JUMHURIYAH has disclosed that the American-Atlantic force that raided Lisan al-Bahr at Shatt al-'Arab entrance from the direction of al-Faw and abducted 55 Iraqi fishermen on 10 October consisted of several gunboats supported by a number of helicopters.

In its issue today, the paper quotes the chairman of the al-Nasr Fishermen Society as saying that the enemy force, which comprised some personnel from the region of Kuwait, seized the fishermen and their boats and equipment.

To date, no member of the abducted group has returned.

The chairman of the fishermen society said the aggressive American-Atlantic operation was not the first. On 28 August, he explained, a similar American-Atlantic force including some personnel from Kuwait abducted 93 Iraqi fishermen with their boats and equipment. Two fishermen were martyred during the operation when the attacking force destroyed and sank one of the fishermen's boats.

Foreign Minister Levi Views Peace Conference

PM2410145091 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister David Levi by Pierre Rousselin; place and date not given]

[Text] [Rousselin] On the eve of the peace conference, you are the most optimistic Israeli minister. Why?

[Levi] I have been optimistic from the start, because I have always thought that with the changes in the world and in the region, the Arab countries would eventually conclude that peace is inevitable. In view of what the Soviet Union has become, they assessed their situation. And they reached this conclusion: Peace is the only way. At least I hope that is true.

[Rousselin] Mr. Shamir is less optimistic. He does not seem so convinced that the Arab countries really want peace....

[Levi] I said "I hope that is true." We are taking risks. We have frequently been surprised by Arab coalitions whose sole raison d'etre was Israel's destruction. That is why we are worried. But the Israeli people as a whole have always dreamed of peace.

[Rousselin] To encourage negotiations, there is talk of reciprocal confidence-building measures. What measures would you like your interlocutors to take and what measures can Israel take?

[Levi] It is a serious mistake to think that it is possible to end a tragedy which has been going on for decades simply by the flick of a switch. There will be difficult negotiations.... The cooperation, especially technological cooperation, which Israel can establish with the Arab countries in the framework of multilateral negotiations represents a great potential for developing that confidence.

[Rousselin] When people talk of confidence-building measures, they mean something like freezing Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and, on the Arab side, halting the intifadah....

[Levi] We must not mix things up. You say that the intifadah could be halted. Our experience is different and we are paying the price for that each day. There have been calls for an increase in the number of attacks....

[Rousselin] Can you envision a freeze on settlements?

[Levi] I am a member of a party which believes, and whose members believe, that Judaea and Samaria belong to us. The cease-fire lines have never been recognized. There has never been a Palestinian state. We are not colonialists. We have not exiled a government or broken up a parliament. We are entering into preliminary negotiations, saying that those territories belong to us. The Jordanians say something different. We will negotiate to find a solution which is acceptable to everybody. Halting the settlements in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza would be recognizing in advance that we do not have the right to be in those regions.

[Rousselin] So whatever is offered in return, Israel will not freeze the settlements?

[Levi] I said no. There is no exchange. What we will negotiate is, first, autonomy for the territories and, second, their final status.

[Rousselin] You refuse to talk with the PLO. It is clear, however, that the PLO controls the Palestinian delegation. Have you broken your own taboo?

[Levi] No, not at all. We are proving to the world that we are prepared to negotiate with a delegation representing the population of Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, as we have proposed since 1989. Nobody has ever done that. Not the British, not the Turks, not the Arabs. Not even King Husayn. The fact that the PLO cannot come to the negotiating table speaks for itself.

[Rousselin] If the Palestinian delegates claim to represent the PLO, what will you do?

[Levi] They will break a promise and call everything into question.

[Rousselin] Will you walk out?

[Levi] I am not saying what Israel will do. The Palestinians will be fully responsible for their actions.

[Rousselin] But it is already clear that you will have to talk with people who claim allegiance to the PLO....

[Levi] Let us be sure that we know who is who. We know what everybody has done, and whether or not he is a terrorist. They must come from Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, and not represent Jerusalem or an outside body. This is not new, and Mr. Baker has agreed to it.

[Rousselin] Do you think that Syrian President al-Asad has changed?

[Levi] Mr. al-Asad has not changed. He is the same and has the same ideology. If he had had the opportunity to destroy Israel, it would have been a dream come true for him. But he failed. He learned from events and he saw that it did not help him to be isolated.

[Rousselin] Will you offer your hand to Faruq al-Shar', your Syrian counterpart, who refuses to shake yours?

[Levi] In our country, when you shake somebody by the hand, you say "Shalom!" That means peace. If Mr. al-Shar' does not want to shake my hand, that is his business. That is not my aim in going. There have been many people like al-Shar' in the past. There will be many more. But when we make peace, Mr. al-Shar' will have to shake many hands.

[Rousselin] Syria wishes to recover the Golan Heights. If negotiations are to succeed, however, each side must stand to gain something....

[Levi] Or to lose a great deal if they do not succeed.... It is very simplistic to see things in black and white. I do not believe in that. If you are convinced that peace is the goal, you rack your brains to find a solution which is acceptable to both sides.

[Rousselin] That must inevitably be a compromise....

[Levi] I do not know. I would say it must be solutions accepted by both sides.

[Rousselin] Is the postponement of Washington's financial guarantees for the integration of Soviet Jews not a sign of a profound change in the U.S. attitude toward Israel?

[Levi] Is it a profound change, a means of exerting pressure on Israel? No. The Americans have not refused their guarantee, although they could have. They have reaffirmed their desire to help with the integration of immigrants. Arab pressure on the U.S. Government gave the impression that if the United States helps us, we will move away from peace. That is not true. And I think we are now on the right path. With my friend Baker, we are talking clearly. I am often asked: "How did you become such close friends?" The answer is simple: By speaking frankly, by refusing to hide behind a diplomatic fog....

[Rousselin] By accepting peace but by refusing to give back territories, Israel gives the impression of wanting "to have its cake and eat it...."

[Levi] So far we have had grenades, bombs, and missiles. We have not even seen any cake. We were attacked by Saddam Husayn and did not retaliate. If London, Paris, or any village in the United States had been bombed, I do not know what would have happened. We did what nobody in the world would have done to maintain the coalition against Iraq. You may have the impression that

the Arab countries want peace. I want to be sure of that. We agree to negotiations without preconditions. Let the negotiators do their work.

Levi Reportedly To Run for Prime Minister

TA2410164491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Foreign Minister David Levi is going to run for prime minister. Our correspondent Shlomo Raz reports that this announcement was made this evening by Levi's brother, Lod Mayor Maxim Levi. The heads of Levi's camp in the Likud are demanding that the prime minister resign from his position as the movement's chairman, claiming that Shamir's behavior is sectarian and not statesmanlike.

Our party affairs correspondent reports that the heads of the Levi camp met in his Jerusalem bureau for many hours and decided to ask for an audience with the prime minister to express their protest. Foreign Minister Levi demanded that in their meeting with Shamir, they do not raise the issue of the composition of the delegation to Madrid, because the matter is closed.

The Likud mayors who this afternoon conferred with Levi demanded that he immediately fire his deputy Binyamin Netanyahu, in view of what they called Netanyahu's subversive acts against the minister. During the meeting, the mayors decided to set up an executive committee which, according to them, will decide on the venues of operation against the prime minister's decision.

Our correspondent Nati Zilberman has learned that Mr. Levi promised his supporters that despite harsh calls he has been hearing, he will continue his struggle in a dignified manner.

'Offensive' Against Shamir Planned

TA2410162191 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1500 GMT 24 Oct 91

[By party affairs correspondent Yaron Deqel]

[Excerpts] The Levi camp has been revived. That is the bottom line following this afternoon's consultations in the foreign minister's office in Jerusalem in which three Knesset members—Re'uven Rivlin, head of the Levi supporters in the Likud; Dan Tikhon, and Yehoshu'a Saguy—participated. Many mayors, such as Prosper 'Azran of Qiryat Shemona; Maxim Levi of Lod, the foreign minister's brother; David 'Amar of Nesher; and Amos Taubman of Ma'ale Adumim also attended. The participants were offended and very angry with Yitzhaq Shamir and those associated with him. The meeting opened with an update by the foreign minister on the political moves and his meeting yesterday with the prime minister. He spoke about his actions over the past 18 months when the Israeli Government dealt with political negotiations. Levi blamed the Shamir camp—those close to Shamir and the prime minister himself—of conducting a campaign against him. In other words, Levi blamed Shamir with degrading him personally, spreading disinformation in an attempt to belittle his actions, and of not backing the foreign minister. Levi gave the impression that it was Shamir himself who headed the campaign against him. [passage omitted]

The foreign minister made it clear that he instructed his Foreign Ministry team in Madrid to provide all the services necessary to enable the peace conference to succeed. The general feeling in the meeting was that Yitzhaq Shamir attacked David Levi not only personally, but also the line he represents in the Likud and in Israeli society in general. The bottom line is that it was decided to set up a team to reorganize the Levi camp which will hold gatherings around the country as part of a wide-ranging media offensive against Shamir's decision and actions. [passage omitted]

[Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew at 1500 GMT on 24 October also carries an interview with Uri Oren, Levi's political adviser, who was asked whether the foreign minister would nevertheless be going to Madrid. Oren replied: "He will remain at home. He is firm about that." Oren said, "There were no contacts between the two ministers today or any attempt to work out a compromise between them."]

Shamir, Levi Discuss Delegation Composition

TA2410204791 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 2030 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] This evening, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir called Foreign Minister David Levi and updated him on his intentions concerning the composition of the Israeli delegation to the Madrid conference. Among other things discussed, Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu was mentioned as a member of the delegation, in addition to the other names that have already been published. The prime minister has not yet determined who will be the Knesset members who go to Madrid, but it is known that he is not going to send Binyamin Begin there.

The prime minister's bureau reported that all the names that were published so far are mere speculations and that Shamir will officially announce the composition of the delegation tomorrow. This was reported by our political correspondent Natan Gutman.

Ben-Aharon Discusses Delegation, Meetings

TA2410184691 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Arabic 1700 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Interview with Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office, by Shlomo Ganor, Eli Nisan, and Yoni Ben-Menahem on the weekly "Meeting" program on 24 October—recorded in Hebrew with Arabic subtitles]

[Excerpts] [Ganor] Good evening, Mr. Director General.

[Ben-Aharon] Good evening.

[Ganor] The prime minister's decision to head the Israeli delegation to the peace conference is causing waves. As one who was privy to this decision, what does it mean?

[Ben-Aharon] It is an outcome of the prime minister's decision to attribute utmost importance to this historic occasion in which Israel will finally be able to show the world and the Arab countries its longing for peace and its plan to attain it. That is why it is only appropriate that the man who heads the government and carries the main responsibility will be the one to head the delegation to that conference.

[Ganor] Despite the political problems it creates on the home front?

[Ben-Aharon] I did not think it had to create a problem and I hope it will not. If you refer to partisan issues, I will not address this issue because I am a civil servant.

[Ganor] The U.S. invitation speaks of ministers, not prime ministers or heads of states.

[Ben-Aharon] The prime minister is a minister, and the organizers of the conference have never hinted they mean ministers and not prime ministers or heads of states. It is possible that there will also be other heads of states from the Arab side.

[Nisan] Was the move to upgrade the level of the Israeli delegation meant to oblige the other parties to follow?

[Ben-Aharon] Not necessarily. If, however, heads of states and prime ministers came from the other side, I believe this would only be for the better. The higher the level of our mutual exposure, the more we benefit from it.

[Nisan] Is there a chance that the prime minister would meet President Mubarak and King Husayn in Madrid, if they come there?

[Ben-Aharon] There will be no reason not to hold such a meeting on our part. If there is one, it could only come from the Arab side because they have so far abstained from holding contacts with us.

[Nisan] There were reports that Mubarak is willing to meet the prime minister this time.

[Ben-Aharon] We are not asking, and certainly not begging, for meetings. We believe that it is only natural for neighboring countries with peaceful relations to have the heads of those states hold occasional meetings. There certainly are matters that have to be dealt with at this level. President Mubarak chose not to do this; he chose to say that only if results are guaranteed, would he come or invite the prime minister. We believe this is not a correct attitude, but he made his own sovereign decision, just as we may.

[Ben-Menahem] Mr. Ben-Aharon, concerning the prime minister's decision: Accusations were made and there is a hard feeling that the Prime Minister's Office neutralized the Foreign Ministry in this whole political process.

[Ben-Aharon] Not true. The Foreign Ministry will play a major role in the delegation. We spoke with the Foreign Ministry this morning and, as is well known, they are on all of the teams that are dealing with the preparations for the negotiations. There is no doubt in my mind that it will play the role it deserves.

[Ben-Menahem] Who will head the teams? After all, it is going to be the Prime Minister's Office, is it not?

[Ben-Aharon] It has not yet been decided.

[Ganor] To sum up this matter, was the image of State of Israel hurt as a result of the prime minister's decision?

[Ben-Aharon] I am certain it was not; just the opposite. As everybody knows, in the Israeli administration, the prime minister is the man who determines the government's foreign policy. I believe, therefore, that this move shows that Israel and its government is the most serious in its attitude to the occasion and the process it is hopes would follow.

[Ben-Menahem] Did he ask Levi to come along?

[Ben-Aharon] I would not like to go into details concerning the personal relations of the prime minister and his ministers. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Menahem] You are the candidate to head the Israeli team for talks with Syria. The Syrians will almost certainly demand the return of the Golan Heights right from the start of the conference or the bilateral talks. Sir, what will the head of the Israeli team reply to that claim?

[Ben-Aharon] First, I have not yet been appointed head of the delegation. The heads of delegations have not yet been appointed. We are dealing with preparatory work, and as part of that I am also dealing with the Syrian issue. In reference to the Syrian claim for territories, I am not conducting the negotiations with you now, but we know that Syria wants the Golan Heights. I would like to remind you that when we signed the cease-fire agreements with Syria, Syria was the one that said the line does not have any political validity and that there is no border between Syria and the State of Israel. Throughout the years Syria is the one that said that there is no border between Syria and the other components of what it calls Greater Syria. I would therefore propose that we ask the Syrian delegation: How come you want to sanctify the line which throughout the years you said did not exist and make it into the international border?

We must determine that negotiations be conducted to determine the secure, recognized, and defensible borders. We are prepared to negotiate that.

[Ganor] But, on the other hand, it was Israel that showed a certain flexibility toward Syria and agreed not to sign a peace treaty with it.

[Ben-Aharon] I do not know anything about something like that. We made the signing of peace treaties a clear target of the negotiations because that is the most natural thing if you are going to make peace with a neighbor with whom you were in a state of hostility for so many years. What is more natural than a peace accord? If Syria does not want it, and according to you, it does not want to sign a peace accord, it will show what its real intentions are about the process. [passage omitted]

[Ben-Menahem] On Wednesday, you will be in Madrid. Is there a target date to complete the process? What is your scenario?

[Ben-Aharon] One cannot determine a target date to complete the process. You know that less difficult negotiations around the world such as the conference on European security between the two blocs went for about 12 years. I hope it will not take so long, but it would not be wise to fix a target date for the completion of the negotiations. It depends on the wishes of all sides. It is not enough for somebody to say he is ready to enter negotiations, he must express it concretely and enter a process which will decide the components of the coexistence and peaceful relations. [passage omitted]

Israeli Delegation for Madrid Conference Named

TA2510135491 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1339 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Report by political correspondent Natan Gutman]

[Text] The Prime Minister's Office just released the list of Israeli delegates to the Madrid conference. The delegation is headed by Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir. The other members are Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu; Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein; Knesset Member [MK] Eliyahu Ben-Elisar, the chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee; MK Sara Doron, the coalition chairperson; MK 'Uzi Landau, also of the Likud; Yosi Ben-Aharon, the director general of the Prime Minister's Office; Yosef Hadas, the acting Foreign Ministry director general; Zalman Shoval, Israel's ambassador to the United States; Professor Shlomo Ben-'Ami, Israel's ambassador to Spain; Eytan Bentzur, the assistant director general of the Foreign Ministry in charge of North America affairs; Salay Meridor, the defense minister's adviser; Brigadier General Quti Mor, the defense minister's adviser; and As'ad As'ad, the prime minister's adviser on Druze affairs.

As for the surprises in the list, we cannot find on it a representative of the opposition, but we do find MK Sara Doron, whose name was not mentioned before. Those are the main surprises. Eytan Bentzur is in, even though he is considered very much a dove, but it was clear that he would be included in the list. The Druze sector will be represented by As'ad As'ad. There are also two ambassadors on, Zalman Shoval and Shlomo Ben-'Ami.

Olmert on Shamir Decision To Head Delegation

TA2410080391 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Health Minister Ehud Olmert by Mikha Friedman and Goni Mardor—live]

[Text] [Mardor] Good morning to Minister Ehud Olmert, a member of the Shamir camp. We heard that Knesset Member Rivlin [David Levi camp in the Likud] said that he has not received a satisfactory explanation for the prime minister's move yesterday. Can you give us a satisfactory explanation?

[Olmert] Let me first say that while you are talking about camps, I am neither authorized to speak on Shamir's behalf nor am I a representative of the Shamir camp. I am not talking against David Levi or his camp here, either. All these definitions do not apply to me. Let me address myself to Shamir's decision per se and first reiterate—not as the representative of any Likud camp, but as a cabinet member who is very familiar with the political moves—that David Levi has played a key role in all the moves this year which culminated in a decision on the peace conference. His achievements in this sphere are very important. Nonetheless, it is clear that the person who led these moves throughout the past year, the person who directed and shaped them, was the prime minister. This has always been the tradition in Israel: We have a foreign minister, but the person who directs foreign policy is always the prime minister.

[Friedman] Yet the United States and the USSR informed Israel yesterday that the conference will be held at the foreign ministerial level and not that of heads of state.

[Olmert] I must say that when I heard this announcement, I very much hoped that the prime minister would decide to head the delegation. There is something that could even be called impudent in this announcement by the superpowers. This has nothing to do with the argument as to whether or not it should be David Levi who heads the delegation. My answer here is purely practical. The United States and the Soviet Union are sponsoring or hosting this conference, but it is neither their lives nor their survival or future that are at stake here; rather, it is our life that is on the agenda here. Therefore, can anybody dictate our representative or our level of representation to us? With all due respect, this is inconceivable to me. I could not care less about whom the Americans want or do not want as our representative. We will decide on this according to our considerations.

[Mardor] Will this also be at the expense of a possibly irreparable rift within the Likud?

[Olmert] Now you are asking me about a different issue concerning the internal workings of the government.

Earlier you asked me how we can act differently from what the Americans and Russians want; we will undoubtedly have arguments with the Americans in the course of the negotiations, too. Your present question concerns a different matter. I am not the prime minister's spokesman, but it is my understanding that the prime minister's decision to head the delegation is an objective reflection of his wish to shoulder personal responsibility, as prime minister, for presenting and representing the Israeli position at the peace conference. One need not attach tactical, partisan, or personal interpretations to this. This move can be accepted and explained very logically as such.

[Friedman] Mr. Olmert, not only David Levi but also the entire Foreign Ministry was taken out of the game....

[Olmert, interrupting] How do you know? What is the basis of your remarks?

[Friedman] David Levi said that his ministry was totally neutralized and that no Foreign Ministry official will head any of the negotiating teams. Why?

[Olmert] I did not hear David Levi. I heard all sorts of commentators, advisers, and the like. The Foreign Ministry will surely be represented on the Israeli delegation and in the course of the conference. If there are two teams, and the prime minister places himself at the head of the delegation and wants to directly and personally supervise the work of these teams through Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office, who has been privy to all of Israel's political moves over the last 15 years....

[Friedman, interrupting] You are talking about a person who said it would be no catastrophe if the conference is not convened. This person is slated to head the team that will conduct negotiations with the Syrians.

[Olmert] So what if he said so? There is a government decision, after all, and he abides by and should represent government decisions. I believe that the best representatives at peace conferences are exactly those people who do not rush to push for them. This was proven at the Camp David conference, as well as in peace talks Israel held previously. Another case in point is the change David Levi himself underwent—from a minister who led the constraints camp to a minister who is leading those who push for peace talks—after being shouldered with the responsibility that comes with the position of foreign minister. The fact that Ben-Aharon opposed the conference in no way indicates that once he is entrusted with directing the talks of one of the teams, he will not work to succeed in this role, in accordance with Israel's best interests, of course.

[Mardor] Thank you, Minister Ehud Olmert.

Papers on Shamir Decision to Head Delegation

TA2410141091

[Editorial Report] In their 24 October editions, all the major Israeli dailies carry articles, commentaries, and editorials on Prime Minister Shamir's decision to personally head the Israeli negotiating team to the Madrid peace conference and to make Israel's opening speech, a decision which led Levi to decide that he would not attend the conference. All the papers focus on the personal insult dealt to Levi by Shamir and note that the Foreign Ministry has been effectively neutralized by Shamir's decision to entrust the negotiations with all parties solely to officials from the Prime Minister's Office and the Defense Ministry. Nevertheless, several papers call on Levi to reconsider his subsequent decision not to attend the conference. While some of the dailies simply excoriate Shamir for shunting Levi aside and choosing a list of hard-liner delegates, estimating that this is Shamir's signal to everybody, including the United States, not to expect any compromises whatsoever from Israel, other papers find a brighter side to the picture, noting that Shamir's presence at the conference will only serve to underscore its significance.

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew, in a page A1 commentary by 'Aqiva Eldar entitled "With Two Right Feet," offers a rundown explaining why the prime minister's recent decisions regrettably stem from more than just "the desire to meet Presidents Bush, Gorbachev, and Mubarak in the corridor and get a good photo opportunity with three important men" or to "replace Foreign Minister Levi as head of the delegation." Eldar notes that "such a photo opportunity would cement Shamir's commitment to the peace process and serve as Levi's insurance policy against any attempt to lay the responsibility on him, if Israel is blamed for the conference's failure." This would have been the case if Shamir had not notified Levi of his desire "to include 'right-wing public figures'" and a representative of the West Bank settlers in the delegation, and if Shamir had not "forced the Foreign Minister to take his deputy along." Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu "does not believe in the conference's chances to bring any results except for Israel's return to the 1967 borders and the neutralizing of its deterrent capability." Shamir also put Yosi Ben-Aharon, "who from the outset of the process has waged an all out war against the foreign minister and against anyone who dared to say a good word about the conference," in charge of negotiations with Syria. HA'ARETZ writes that "even Foreign Ministry sources said that Levi should not have left us with this bunch which is going to Madrid to sabotage the chance for peace and that he should have risen above considerations of honor and prestige, swallowed his pride, and dogged Shamir's steps in Spain. They claimed that on no account should he have let the prime minister chase him away from Spain."

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew, in a page-2 editorial by Hanan Kristal entitled "Last Minute Knockout,"

believes that Shamir's last-minute decision to replace Levi as head of the delegation and to man it with hard-liners is a "double signal of both his international and domestic intentions. Shamir is signalling the international community, and especially the United States, not to expect or press for any breakthroughs at the Madrid conference." Enumerating the officials Shamir reportedly intends to include in the delegation, HADASHOT states that anyone bringing those people to peace talks "is actually publicly declaring in a loud voice that he does not mean business and is only there for propaganda and public relations."

As for the domestic aspect, Shamir is signalling Levi that "he is unsuitable and unworthy of guiding Israel's policy in Madrid. This mainly to prevent any rise in Levi's standing within the Likud and in the eyes of the public and to stop him from receiving any recognition as a statesman." HADASHOT asserts that "Levi's main challenge as a leader, if he can summon the courage to do so, will be to resign from the government, if and when the Madrid talks run aground, challenge Shamir in the Likud and present himself as a political and personal candidate already in the coming 1992 elections."

Amnon Dankner, writing in a front-page HADASHOT commentary entitled "A Delegation of Troublemakers," believes that "Yitzhaq Shamir's decision was a sophisticated multistage missile aimed at several parties." While Levi copped the main blast, Dankner asserts that the United States was also a target: "and now the Americans—'you made me come to the conference,' Shamir said, 'okay, look who I am bringing with me,'" calling the Israeli delegates the "fastest guns in the wild East." In a novel slant, Dankner opines that the delegation members are Shamir's third target, as the prime minister may be counting on the Israeli extremists to adopt more moderate positions once they "encounter reality" at the conference."

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in a commentary by Nahum Barne'a on pages 1 and 14 entitled "The Evil Trick," notes that "now in Madrid, Yitzhaq Shamir will have his own council of wise men—the proud Jewish answer to the Palestinian council of wise men—with one difference: The Palestinian council is more moderate than their official delegation, while the wise counselors picked by Shamir are all rejectionists." YEDI'OT AHARONOT bemoans the "political and public relations fiasco taking place right in front of our eyes." The commentary notes that "Israel now has a rare period of grace in the United States, a time-out before the next quarrel, which will break out soon, and no one in the government is exploiting the opportunity. We have a chance to open windows to Islamic countries and generate a political dynamic in the territories—but Shamir prefers to sleep all the way to Madrid." Barne'a states that Shamir "has turned the Foreign Ministry into a facsimile," noting that "the Foreign Ministry has never been so humiliated."

YEDI'OT AHARONOT, however, believes that "one can also find a bright side. Shamir is surrounding himself with hard-liners and when he is forced to make compromises they will not be able to say 'we did not know.' Next to them Shamir will appear moderate, and it is good for Israel to have a moderate prime minister."

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew, in a page 1 commentary by Hemi Shalev entitled "In One Word: Disgrace," discusses the issue from the standpoint of national responsibility. The commentary asserts that "Yesterday, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Foreign Minister David Levi jointly brought about one the greatest disgraces in Israel's history. One week before the opening of the Madrid conference, the two men proved that not only are the Jews incapable of negotiating with the Arabs but that it is extremely doubtful whether they can talk among themselves." The commentary sarcastically asks if "perhaps we should ask that the Madrid commentary be postponed for a month, so that the senior Likud ministers can hold a peace conference." Shalev points out that Shamir's decision to go is logical in itself but that he should have taken Levi's sensitivities into account: "If Shamir failed to foresee Levi's reaction then his mind was not working; however, if he did foresee, and perhaps even anticipated it, and knowingly caused us this shame out of purely political considerations, then he has sinned against the state." Nor does DAVAR find Levi faultless: "The foreign minister has yet to decide if he is Israel's foreign minister or if he represents himself. With all respect to lost honor, the country's honor is more important."

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR, in a page 9 editorial entitled "Shamir Is Gambling All on the Pot," takes a pessimistic view of Shamir attending the conference. 'AL HAMISHMAR writes that "if we were only dealing with games of honor and of personal prestige we could have forgiven this slight to Levi's honor to help the peace process, but there are differences in attitude and in the degree of commitment to the political process between these two men, and it is feared that Shamir may bring about a crisis. If the prime minister intends to leave for Madrid with a delegation whose job is to blow up the conference or create a crisis, then he is gambling all on the pot. President Bush is not coming to Madrid to watch a one-time Israeli performance. Shamir will not be able to repeat the trick he played on Baker in 1989, on the talks with the Palestinians, when he back-tracked at the last minute." 'AL HAMISHMAR says that "one does not have to be a chronic pessimist to describe the results of a crisis in Madrid if it has anything to do with the behavior of the Israeli delegation. Shamir's responsibility, from the moment he assumes the leadership of the Israeli delegation, will be double: both toward the peace process, and toward Israel's relations with the United States and other friendly countries."

Ne'eman Sees Madrid Meeting as 'Catastrophe'

TA2510123391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1030 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Professor Yuval Ne'eman, minister of energy and infrastructure and of science and technology, by Hayim Zissowitz—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Zissowitz] Have circumstances surrounding the conference changed, in your opinion?

[Ne'eman] I believe so. Let us wait and see if matters keep moving in the current direction, but they have definitely changed and in the direction I anticipated.

[Zissowitz] Are you prepared to elaborate?

[Ne'eman] I am referring to some toughening of the Israeli stance, although I am not yet confident that this will indeed be the line. As is well known, I have said all along that it would be a grave error to go to this conference, but we are clearly going for it now. It is clear that we are going to hear a U.S.-imposed solution there. We are told that in his speech, President Bush will include harsh remarks against Israel. This, in fact, is the gratitude we receive for having sat quietly, like sheep, during the Gulf war. I believe that was a serious mistake. At the time, I struggled and tried to convince that our conduct should be different, but failed. We are now candidates for becoming Jews living in a protectorate. There is some hope now that if the prime minister leads the delegation, there is a chance—at least from what we have heard—that the Israeli line will be tougher.

I must say there is also a credibility test over a minor thing. There is that Palestinian who declared he is the PLO. This is what has always been predicted will happen with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. General Scowcroft, the head of the U.S. National Security Council, has already told us to swallow this, that we better keep quiet and swallow this. It would indeed be interesting to see whether Israel will swallow this blatant violation of all agreements or whether it will insist on its own.

[Zissowitz] You sound almost sad. We are going to a peace conference, however; we are talking. Does this have no value in your eyes?

[Ne'eman] I think this is a catastrophe. I believe the bus will come by many times still. Baker surely was not telling the truth when he said the bus would not come by again. I would let his bus go by. After all, nobody is concealing what we are in for. We are destined to get the status of a protectorate, to return to the 1967 borders on all fronts, including a withdrawal from Jerusalem. So, what is there to rejoice about here? Should we be happy about our return to what is in fact a position of weakness and dependency? If I were an Arab, I would then know how to wipe out the State of Israel.

[Zissowitz] Still, people will be sitting down and talking at the conference. There is a down-to-earth atmosphere....

[Ne'eman, interrupting] I do not belong to the camp of those who enjoy sitting and talking; rather, I think....

[Zissowitz, interrupting] Is this not preferable to the alternative?

[Ne'eman, continuing] ....rather, I think about whether we will be allowed to live or whether we will be annihilated. In my opinion, under the present circumstances, the Jewish people deserve leaders who are gripped by the Holocaust complex. The Jewish people were subject to holocausts in the past, and future holocausts are already emerging. There must not be an Israeli leader who can be swept along by talk and high spirits and not think about the concrete, practical point of whether he is fortifying Israel's security or turning the country into a possible victim of liquidation.

[Zissowitz] We have just heard that even the prime minister, who you do not doubt, said that it is an opening to hope and that there is a chance to succeed.

[Ne'eman] Then his thoughts are different from mine. That is why I did not join the Likud, and my position on this is much more pragmatic. I do not get emotional about reports about a different atmosphere. All those who talk about a new era, about peace reigning in the world, should go and see how new conflicts surfaced within five minutes of the collapse of the USSR and should take a look at Yugoslavia. They should also explain to the Irish that there is no reason to plant bombs because there is a new world order.

Refutes Author's Disclosures

TA2510130391 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 25 Oct 91 p 16

[Interview with Yuval Ne'eman, minister of energy and infrastructure and of science and technology, by Pazit Ravina on 22 October; place not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ravina] Seymour Hersch's book "The Samson Option" about Israel's nuclear power is making waves around the world. What do you think about the book?

[Ne'eman] I must tell you that I expected something else. The book is unclear and confused. I met Hersch. He had been trying to meet with me for two years. Last April, when I was in Washington for a meeting with U.S. Secretary of Energy James Watkins and Allan Bromley, assistant to the President for science and technology, I told a clerk in our embassy to call Hersch, who kept nagging me, and ask if he would meet me in the presence of three other people. Hersch agreed and came to see me in the lobby of my hotel. With me were my ministry Director General Uri Wurzburger, an embassy official, and my assistant Avi Farhan. Hersch was very strange. He spoke of prehistoric times, the Bergman nuclear days

of 1952, but asked questions concerning Israel's nuclear activity in the early 1960's. After all, the interesting period of Israel's nuclear effort started when we bought the U.S. reactor and with the beginning of our ties with France in the late 1950's. I answered him. In order to make sure that he did not twist my remarks, I sent him a letter saying: This is what you asked, and this is what we answered. I saw in recent publications that he says he has a letter from a prominent Israeli minister. Well, this is the letter.

[Ravina] The main question the book raises is the accusation that in a meeting he held with Yevgeniy Primakov, who heads the new Soviet intelligence agency today, Shamir passed information obtained from Jonathan Pollard to the Russians .

[Ne'eman] Saying that Shamir gave information to the Russians is truly appalling. In those years, if we gave information at all, it was to the Americans. For example, we gave them the transcript of the famous 20th Congress of the CPSU and of Khrushchev's secret speech. We also gave them information about the SA-6 missiles.

The fact that Pollard made this or another contribution to us is one thing, but to claim that we passed information to the Russians? If the Americans had a shred of information on this, they would have exposed it already.

[Ravina] What about other secrets the book reveals?

[Ne'eman] From what I have read so far, they do not appear to be credible. Anyone familiar with Israel's security problems will find some of the things claimed in the book inconceivable. [passage omitted]

Authorities Warn Delegation Not To Meet PLO

TA2410161891 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] All members of the Palestinian delegation from the territories, who are to leave for Jordan tomorrow, were summoned today to the Civil Administration offices in their respective residential areas. Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that in their talks with the military governors the delegation members were warned not to meet PLO representatives during the Madrid conference. It was made clear to them that all the rules and regulations on this issue concerning the residents of the territories apply to them during the conference as well.

Palestinians 'Not Sorry' About Shamir's Move

TA2410191091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Labor Knesset Member Yosi [MK] Beilin met today with Faysal al-Husayni in Jerusalem, and his impression was that the Palestinians are not sorry about Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's decision to head the Israeli delegation to Madrid. Beilin was also told that the Palestinians will make a serious effort not to make the conference disintegrate.

Palestinians Officially Accept; New Names Added

TA2310182291 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1705 GMT 23 Oct 91

[By Moti Amir in East Jerusalem]

[Text] The news conference after Faysal al-Husayni's meeting with the U.S. and Soviet consuls has just ended. It was preceded by last-minute consultations between al-Husayni and his Palestinian colleagues over the composition of the advisory council attached to the Madrid delegation. We have learned that al-Husayni has come under heavy pressure to include more representatives from the refugee camps in the council. Let us return, however, to the news conference in al-Husayni's home after his meeting with U.S. Consul General Molly Williamson and the Soviet consul. Dr. 'Ashrawi said after the meeting that she and her colleagues presented the consuls with the Palestinians' official agreement to attend the Madrid conference.

[Begin 'Ashrawi recording, in English] We presented them, in the name of Mr. al-Husayni, with a letter which contains the official Palestinian response. Although when we gave the list of names we had told them that our response was positive—we gave them the names on the 19th as a positive response. Today we gave them the official written response because today is the deadline, and the written response included also the Palestinian political position, recognition of the terms of reference for the conference, and what came in the letter of.... [end recording]

[Amir translates Ms. 'Ashrawi's remarks and continues] We learned a few minutes ago that there would also be last-minute changes in the advisory council. Dr. 'Ashrawi confirmed that there would be changes and that more people would be added to the list. We have a list of seven people, including some from refugee camps. I will read out the names: Radwan Abu-'Ayyash; Ziyad Abu-Zayyad; Radi al-Jara'i; Jamil al-Tarifi; Ahmad al-Yajizi of Gaza; 'Abd-al- Hadi Abu-Khusa, a communist from the al-Shati' refugee camp; and Salah Abu-Laban, who was released in the Ahmad Jibril deal and belongs to the 'Abd-Rabbuh wing of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and lives in the al-Duhayshah refugee camp. All these will probably be added to the advisory council to please the various factions in the territories and to avoid pressure on al-Husayni.

Palestinians Angry Over 'Urayqat Remarks

TA2510070191 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1900 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Passages in italics recorded in and processed from Arabic]

[Excerpts] At this hour, the Palestinian delegation is meeting in an East Jerusalem hotel to make a final decision concerning the participation of Dr. Sa'ib 'Urayqat in the delegation. Our Arab affairs correspondent Ehud Ya'ari says that the delegation members are angry about the remarks 'Urayqat made yesterday to a CNN correspondent, in which he explicitly declared that this is a PLO delegation. Some claim that he was dragged into making an unnecessary statement and made Israel press for his removal from the delegation, which might grant Israel a victory of principle. [passage omitted]

Our correspondent reports that 'Urayqat expressed his regret for not weighing his words more carefully in private conversations. His associates claim that he was summoned today for a meeting with the military governor of Jericho, where he lives, concerning the interview, but an examination revealed this is not true. Our correspondent Amir Hay adds:

[Begin recording] [Hay] [passage omitted] Will 'Urayqat stay on the delegation? This will only be made clear tomorrow.

[Faysal al-Husayni] The only one who has the right to speak on behalf of the delegation or empower anyone to speak in its name is Faysal al-Husayni.

[Hay] 'Urayqat, for his part, cannot take back his remarks. *Why did you say what you said?*

['Urayqat] I said what I had to say in a sincere and clear manner, and there is no change in my remarks. I clearly said that I am a member of a delegation that was composed by the PLO.

[Hay] I understand.

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's decision to head the Israeli delegation to the Madrid conference was received with mixed feelings. Some of the Palestinian delegation members claimed that the decision was meant to foil the whole process. Others maintained that this move demonstrates Shamir's seriousness. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Demonstrators Demand Independent Palestine

TA2410152191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1400 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] A group of Palestinian women and children demonstrated loudly today outside the home of Faysal al-Husayni in Jerusalem and demanded an independent Palestine. Al-Husayni invited them in and told them that he was also in favor of an independent Palestinian state, but that there are stages and that they must first participate in a conference.

Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that in reaction to the remarks by Sa'ib 'Urayqat that the PLO appointed him to the delegation, al-Husayni said that 'Urayqat does not have the right to speak for the delegation but only to express his personal views.

Palestinian Delegation Cannot Stop Intifadah

TA2410150691 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 24 Oct 91 p 3

[Pinhas 'Inbari commentary: "A True Protest"]

[Excerpt] The success of yesterday's general strike in the territories, called for by Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and the Popular and the Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine, has far-reaching ramifications which are not to be underestimated by saying that he who managed to scare more people won.

Fatah men also threatened merchants and motorists, but there was a feeling that the Palestinians truly wished to protest the terms under which they are going to the conference. The scandals that surrounded the composition of the delegation have also caused a decline in the Palestinian morale and contributed to the success of the strike. In fact, this was the first intifadah strike against the PLO and an outspoken statement that the intifadah cannot be stopped by international agreements without providing a real solution which would justify the heavy price the Palestinians paid in their uprising. It is now clear that the selected delegation will not be able to make reciprocal gestures which include stopping the intifadah. [passage omitted]

Paper Urges Support for Palestinian Team

TA2410170691 Jerusalem AL-SHA'B in Arabic 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 11

[Editorial: "Our Eyes Are Open and Our Steps Are Sure"]

[Text] At a news conference yesterday in Jerusalem's National Hotel, Mr. Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian negotiating delegation, announced the names on the final list for the upcoming peace conference in the Spanish capital on 30 October. This lineup included 14 negotiators and seven members in the coordinating committee.

Al-Husayni's announcement of the official composition of the negotiating delegation put an end to the speculation that preceded the announcement of the delegation's members. It launched a new phase that hopefully will lead to a happy end in which a comprehensive and lasting peace will be achieved in the region on the basis of international legitimacy's resolutions, particularly Resolutions 242 and 338.

If today our negotiators are getting ready to pack their luggage while having more confidence in themselves and in their ability to wage the battle of peace, we join our hearts to theirs, our eyes to theirs, and our steps—one by one—behind their sure and confident steps to wage this crucial battle in the history of our victorious march. We are hopeful and determined to attain the aspirations and hopes of our people in gaining their legitimate rights and

the establishment of their independent state. Al-Husayni, at a seminar held at the al-Hakawati Theater yesterday, said we are closer today than at any other time.

All of us, no matter where our ships dock and irrespective of the divergence in our views and opinions, should stand behind our negotiators, bless and support them, and be confident of their ability to realize achievements and successes.

The current phase through which our cause is passing dictates that we rise to the level of responsibility and solidify our national unity, which was and continues to be the winning card in our hands in every battle that we wage and against every assault by the enemies and their brothers.

We believe that the peace conference will focus more attention on the intransigence of the Israeli position, which refuses to respond to the peace requirements, and will place Israel in international isolation when it affirms this refusal before the world. This conference will also put the new world order to the test by the way in which it will deal with Israel's intransigence and defiance of international resolutions and will show whether this order will apply the same standards to Israel that it applied in the Gulf.

Paper Says PLO Formed Palestinian Delegation

TA2410183091 Jerusalem AL-QUDS in Arabic 23 Oct 91 p 7

[Editorial: "Our Constants Are Unshakable!"]

[Excerpts] Following his meeting with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat announced that the Palestinian delegation taking part in the Madrid conference actually represents the PLO. There is no doubt that no one can sink his head in the sand and ignore this reality. [passage omitted]

The makeup of the Palestinian delegation has been announced. As we have stated, everybody knows that the delegation was formed by the Palestinian leadership. Anyone who tries to ignore the facts realizes that this does not negate their existence. The 30 October deadline is approaching, and irrespective of the feelings in our hearts, we should all practice the language of reason and logic and reject anything that does not conform with our people's morals and heritage.

Democracy is an integral part of our lives. Consequently, views and counterviews, differences in opinion, and the diversity of tendencies will represent, as far as Palestinian society is concerned, one of the main cornerstones on which our society will be built.

Our disagreement is over details and means, and our agreement is over distant goals. Even the Palestinian factions opposing participation in the Madrid conference stressed this fact when they said: "We have gathered here not to express our opposition to peace, but our refusal to capitulate to Israeli conditions which block the road to real peace."

Our distant goals have come to be known as the Palestinian constants. These are principles affirmed by the recent Palestine National Council session, foremost of which is the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and living freely and in peace just as other nations on earth. Another principle is implementation of international legitimacy's resolutions, including 242, which clearly calls for Israel's withdrawal from Arab and Palestinian lands it occupied in 1967. As far as the Palestinian people are concerned, withdrawal and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination mean living according to the world order based on the new "state."

Peres To Draft 'New Minimalist Political Plan'

TA2410145991 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 24 Oct 91 p 2

[By Amir Neumann]

[Excerpt] Prior to Sunday's convening of the Labor Party's political committee, party Chairman Shim'on Peres plans to meet with several senior party members to try to draft a substitute for the documents worked out in the past few days by a team in the political committee.

Among those invited to the meeting are Secretary General Mikha Harish and Knesset Members Moshe Shahal, Ya'aqov Tzur, and Mordekhay Gur, and possibly others. Peres apparently plans to present the participants with a new minimalist political plan which will include a number of basic positions:

Jerusalem will remain Israel's capital under Israeli sovereignty; the Jordan River will serve as the defense border; the territories to be returned will be demilitarized; territories needed for Israel's defense will remain under its control; the borders will be defensible, recognized, and agreed upon; all the existing settlements will remain where they are; contractual peace treaties and regional security arrangements will be signed; and the security achieved through our positions on the Golan Heights will not be interfered with.

The plan outlines the stages and main aims of the settlement: autonomy in the territories, then the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation and interim arrangements with Syria prior to a permanent solution.

At the same time, the plan refers to several regional arrangements: a comprehensive settlement, ending the Arab boycott, solving the water problem, and setting up a common market. During the negotiations Israel will be prepared for a settlement freeze. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Views Meetings in Damascus

JN2410191991 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1800 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] In a statement to our correspondent for political affairs Salim 'Ali Dhiyab, Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir, who returned to Amman this evening, described his meetings in Damascus as good. The foreign ministers reviewed the regional situation, with a special emphasis on arrangements to convene the Madrid peace conference. Coordination and consultations among the Arab parties involved were also discussed during the meetings. Agreement was reached to hold periodic Arab meetings in the interest of coordination and consultations, especially after the conference gets underway, Abu-Jabir added. The meeting also emphasized Arab constants—the Arab identity of Jerusalem, the immediate cessation of settlement building, Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab land, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people—in pursuit of a fair and comprehensive peace in the region.

The presence of the foreign ministers of Saudi Arabia and Morocco on behalf of the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Maghreb Union, the minister said, had a positive impact in terms of promoting consultation and coordination, and adding weight to the Arab stand during the coming peace talks that will call for a high degree of Arab coordination and consultation and support.

Some Palestinians Return With Abu-Jabir

JN2410201391 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 2000 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Randah Habib dispatch from Amman; from the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpt] PLO Executive Committee Members Faruq Qaddumi and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh arrived in Amman from Damascus this evening, in the company of Jordanian Foreign Minister Kamil Abu-Jabir, at the end of the meeting of the Arab countries directly involved in the peace conference.

Qaddumi and 'Abd-Rabbuh are expected to pursue their talks with Jordanian officials here in Amman, where there is also a team of Palestinian experts led by Dr. Nabil Sha'th, Yasir 'Arafat's political adviser.

The negotiating Palestinian delegation under Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi and the Advisory Council under Faysal al-Husayni will arrive in Amman tomorrow morning to join the Jordanian team and initiate coordination. The members of the Jordanian team are expected to be named during the next 48 hours. The joint delegation will leave for Madrid next Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Delegation to Madrid Peace Conference Listed

JN2510075691 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 25 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Amman—AL-DUSTUR has learned that the joint Jordanian- Palestinian delegation to the Madrid peace conference will be chaired by Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir. The Jordanian segment of the delegation will be led by a renowned academician who worked in the field of teaching for a long time.

The Jordanian side will comprise the following members: Dr. Muhammad Bani-Hani, Marwan al-Mu'ashshir (the Jordanian side's official spokesman), Dr. Walid al-Khalidi (chief of the Beirut-based Palestinian Studies Center), Jerusalem Governor Anwar al-Khatib, Jordanian Ambassador in London Fu'ad Ayyub, Jordan's UN Permanent Representative 'Abdallah Salah, Jordanian Ambassador in Paris 'Awwad al-Khalidi, and Jordanian Ambassador in Moscow Dr. Muhammad al-'Adwan.

The delegation will also include a number of the Foreign Ministry's technical experts.

Al-Tahrir Party Rejects Peace Plans

JN2410150591 Amman AL-RIBAT in Arabic 22 Oct 91 p 3

[Text] The al-Tahrir Party in Jordan has issued a statement on the peace conference expressing the party's position regarding a future settlement. The statement stresses the party's categorical rejection of the peace plans.

In a statement to the nation, the party warned against carelessness which, at the outset of this century, caused the collapse of the Islamic caliphate and led to the fragmentation of the nation. The statement stressed that attending the conference will result in a loss for the Arabs because, under the best of conditions, it will include recognition of the Jewish occupation of Palestine, or at least most of it.

The party threatened the Jews with a dark future based on the edicts of God and His Prophet. The statement noted that any peace agreement with the Jews will not affect the people's concern about liberating Palestine.

Addressing the colonialist infidel states, the statement said that all invasions of Islamic countries throughout history have not held up against the will of faith, and that the fate of their current onslaught against the nation will be the same as that of their previously known crusades.

Labor Minister Resigns; Another Appointed

JN2410160691 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] A royal decree was issued today accepting the resignation of 'Abd-al-Karim al-Dughmi, minister of labor and minister of cabinet affairs.

His Excellency Dr. Qasim 'Ubaydat, minister of state for cabinet affairs, will be the acting labor minister.

Address by Crown Prince Hasan Marks UN Day

JN2410173891 Amman Radio Jordan in English 1210 GMT 24 Oct 91

["Full text" of Crown Prince Hasan's address at a ceremony marking UN day held at the Royal Cultural Center in Amman on 24 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] Mr. Under Secretary General of ESCWA [Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia], [word indistinct] representative of the administrator of the UNDP [United Nations Development Program], ladies and gentlemen of the United Nations family: It was approximately 10 years ago that Jordan hosted the meeting, not of the United Nations organization, but of a very important multilateral humanitarian organization: the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC]. At that meeting our late and dear friend Alexander Hay, the head of ICRC, inspired me to go to the General Assembly of the United Nations and to address the subject of a humanitarian order, or in my own words, the need for a code of conduct in times of peace. As so many of you know, there are so many concessions from the law of war, but to date, there is no such thing as a law of peace. And I asked myself, why a new order? At the time, the world spoke in the eighties of economic order, information order, why a humanitarian order? And I find it interesting that today, I stand before you to celebrate or commemorate United Nations day at a moment where so much is being said, without specificity, without explanation of a new world order. What worries me is, quite frankly, the absence of substance to this rather lofty goal and aim.

When we look at the Middle East, the substance is incorporated in that all-embracing title: security. And in addressing the nongovernmental organizations in New York a few weeks ago, as one who participated in the independent commission for humanitarian issues participating in representing the powerless, we almost became, as some of you who worked with us may remember, the powerless lobby for the powerless, I attempted to address to the subject of security, in the words of a Canadian university professor—the rapporteur for a committee for a just world order—Professor Walker of the University of Victoria in Canada, who said the primary subject of security is people, not states, not elites, nor the affluent, nor the stronger. He went on to say, in rethinking security, it is become less a concept with any analytical precision that an instrument of mystifying rhetoric, appeals to the need for security justify the most blatant abuses and encouraged the resort to escalating levels of violence. Such appeals legitimize vast arsenals and a curtailment of democratic rights and procedures. The concept of security is now more a symptom of the problem than a guide to the possibilities of peace and justice.

I stand before you at a watershed of looking beyond the Gulf war, or what has been described as beyond the war dividend, and at a moment of trying to anticipate the improbable—I dare not say the impossible, but the improbable—the peace dividend. And as we look beyond the Gulf war, I feel ladies and gentlemen, very clearly, that a broadly defined security concept, means of necessity, tackling the root causes of conflicts. I feel clearly that as we attempt hastily, procedurally to conceive new security structures for the region, and here I mean the Middle East region, that we may end up compromising in certain instances, our internal security at the national level. And to explain that further, let me look at the war dividend with the following topical comparison. The United States Air Force loss of two F-15E fighters by January 21st of this year cost 32 million pounds sterling. They would buy Save the Children's entire overseas budget for 1990-1991. One bomb on a B-52 that costs $11,000 would run a clinic for 4,600 patients in Bangladesh for one month. [passage omitted]

It is therefore, that in looking beyond the Gulf war, that I feel that a remedial expansion of the tools available to deal with trans-frontier—transnational issues—can be achieved through emphasizing the political and economic dimensions of security; politics where people matter, where people's aspirations matter; politics where humanitarian considerations are paramount. I know there is an increased awareness in the outside world of the socioeconomic roots of conflicts in the Middle East, but given my reference to the war dividend, given the continued suffering of people, and allow me here to refer specifically to Palestinian refugees' conditions in Jordan and in the other host countries, I wonder how much awareness there is of the economic and the politics of despair. We all know, speaking here in Amman, what the Arab- Israeli wars have produced since 1948. They have produced the largest wave of emigration the Arab world has known in the 20th century. Seven hundred and fifty thousand Palestinians were forced to leave their homes to the eastern areas of Palestine known as the West Bank, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Gaza Strip.

During the '67 war, more than 300,000 Palestinians were displaced. And according to statistics from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, UNRWA, the annual population increase of refugees exceeds 3 percent. As a result, more than 2.4 million Palestinian refugees are now registered with UNRWA, a third of them live in 61 camps set up by the agency in its five fields of operation in Jordan, the West Bank, Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria. The others share the peoples of host countries, to a greater or a lesser extent, their own livelihood. Most of the refugees, about 930,000 reside in Jordan according to updated UNRWA records, which also show that 414,000 reside in the West Bank, 496,000 reside in the Gaza Strip, 302,000 live in Lebanon, and 281,000 in Syria. The reason for my quoting these figures, which are so well known to you, is that I do not feel, as we speak of a United Nations for tomorrow's world, that these figures, which are a residue and a carryover of the war dividend

of successive Arab-Israeli wars, have had the interdisciplinary impact on the United Nations family; have had an increasingly bilateral world impact, so important as we speak of multilateralism and as we speak of political balance and political symmetry.

The ECSWA report, for which I am deeply grateful, on the migration of returnees from the Gulf to Jordan, in summary, in its concluding statement, speaks of external aid needs to be provided to Jordan to help Jordan in coping with the immediate needs of the returnees and the additional absorption cost, as if and as though Jordan's responsibilities over and above the exodus of 1948 and of 1967, over and above the infrastructural cost of successive Arab-Israeli confrontations is de rigueur out of a sense of duty to commit itself to the absorption of further migrants.

I don't need to remind you that Jordan has suffered from an additional financial and economic burden by virtue of the unexpected and continuous large influx of returnees, totalling at least 300,000. All of them require extra cost in education, health, housing, municipal and public services, and new job opportunities. However, it may be worth reminding you in terms of political symmetry, or asymmetry, that the financial resources required are estimated at $4.5 billion in order to barely safeguard, to barely safeguard the current standard of living.

These, ladies and gentlemen, are humble estimates in contrast with what Israel is currently pushing for its roughly 345,000 Soviet Jewish migrants; a $10 billion housing loan guarantee.

It is paradoxical, ladies and gentlemen, that the highest executive authority in the United Nations vested with the preservation of global peace, the five permanent members, supply 85 percent of the world's conventional weapons. The issue of armaments needs to be addressed in its totality. The five permanent members who voice concern about proliferation of weapons, conventional and nonconventional, are those very countries who must formulate and implement policies accordingly. It is those five permanent members of the Security Council who ironically represent the core group of any international conceptualizing and funding-responsibility for this region in the context of the cost of peace. It is those five Security Council members, who are so acutely aware in the context of the OECD, in the context of the EEC, in the context of multilateralism of the causes for indebtedness in the developing world, and I cannot think of any single cause more poignant than the purchase of weapons, conventional and nonconventional. An eminent scholar stated and I quote: that to read the concept of development from the standpoint of the concept of security is to understand that hunger is a form of genocide. This form of development may not be discussed in the UN Security Council, but it is no less a threat to human beings than the missiles standing silently in their silos.

To underline this point, ladies and gentlemen, it is my hope that we can consider the issue of justice in the coming process by saying that it is impossible to ration justice, by saying that it must be conceived and implemented in accordance with uniform criteria. [passage omitted]

Demographic trends and the widening gap between the haves and the have-nots have sparked off the economic and politics of despair. The political economy of despair has led the entire region to what we live today, a window of opportunity, a threshold for peace against the background of an extremely precarious and explosive situation. Democratization, freedom of expression, human rights, and the accountability of rulers provide a root toward the alternative; political economy of peace, security, and progress. [passage omitted]

Minister Fakhuri Views Damascus Meeting

NC2410200091 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1715 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Remarks by Minister Shawqi Fakhuri following a meeting with Prime Minister 'Umar Karami in Beirut on 24 October—recorded]

[Text] I have just returned from Damascus where I attended the meeting of Arab foreign ministers. I held a meeting here with Prime Minister 'Umar Karami to brief him on the Damascus session. The Damascus meeting was quite necessary. There was a need to coordinate positions among Arab countries, particularly the frontline ones, before the Madrid conference. The mere convocation of the meeting is, in my opinion, a benefit for the Arab cause and a victory for the common Arab stand, because it was very necessary for the frontline countries, which are directly involved in and harmed by the Arab-Israeli conflict, to meet and coordinate their positions prior to the Madrid conference and we have done exactly that.

Saudi Foreign Minister His Highness Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal attended the meeting, representing the Gulf Cooperation Council. Moroccan Foreign Minister Abdellatif Filali also was present on behalf of the Arab Maghreb Union. The meetings lasted two days and were marked by frankness. We exchanged views at length. On my part, I expressed Lebanon's position on the conference. I noted that our attendance at the conference should not interfere with matters such as UN Security Council Resolution 425. Lebanon has a special case here, which sets it apart from the other countries involved. Resolution 425 does not need explanation, clarification, or discussion.

We are attending the conference to promote peace. The Arabs are going to the conference with olive branches in their hands. These two days of talks in Damascus have for the first time produced a common Arab position on the peace conference. Arab countries have made a brave decision to go to the conference to present their just position, which is based on international law and UN Security Council resolutions.

Apart from the Arab position, we have a special position. Our talks with the Israeli side will be devoted entirely to the need for prompt implementation of Resolution 425. This means that Israel should withdraw from the entire Lebanese territory, all the way to its international borders. We will not compromise on this matter. Our position is clear on Resolution 425. The Lebanese Cabinet formulated that position and I have relayed it to the conferees in Damascus.

This does not mean Lebanon is disinterested in other Arab issues. On the contrary, we are interested in the Arab cause because we have a national commitment in this regard and because the Arab-Israeli conflict has had a direct impact on our country in terms of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

We have supported the common Arab stand, which is based on three points:
First, that Israel should withdraw completely from all Arab territories.
Second, that settlement efforts cease. The conferees made a point of stressing this particular matter because the building of settlements is continuous and rapid. There should be a complete halt to all settlement activities.
Third, that the Palestinian people's rights should be restored.

Fatah Headquarters Seized in 'Peaceful' Protest

NC2510065491 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon in Arabic 0545 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] A peaceful coup took place in 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp yesterday afternoon when Fatah cadres of Palestinians who came to Lebanon in 1948 seized the headquarters and centers of this movement. They announced that they carried out their movement to express their opposition to the PLO's participation in the peace conference. The coupists led by Munir al-Maqdah, the security official in 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp, and Khalid al-Shayyib, a military official of the Fatah Movement's al-Zahrani forces, have been able to seize the Fatah Lebanese headquarters, Martyr Abu-Hasan Salamah center, the Palestine workers federation's building, and the cultural center in the building.

According to reports, the official in charge of intelligence services in the Fatah Movement, Kamal Midhat, left 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp in the direction of another camp in the south. These developments took place in the absence of Zayd Wahbah, Fatah political official in Lebanon, who is currently in Tunisia, and following the detention of 'Ala' Abu-Dawud, alias 'Ala' al-Afandi, the Movement's official in charge of military affairs, as he was attempting to leave Lebanon by sea with other officials, including Muhsin al-'Allaq and Salah Jadid.

According to reports, the coupists held a meeting last night with representatives of the Palestinian groups and forces opposing the peace conference. A Palestinian source in 'Ayn al-Hulwah described what happened as a peaceful coup against the PLO's political line, particularly its decision to participation in the Madrid peace conference.

Al-Hirawi Interviewed on Foreign Ties, South

JN2310202591 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1745 GMT 23 Oct 91

["Full text" of interview with President Ilyas al- Hirawi conducted by correspondents Kamal Tarabayh and Ghassan 'Abd-al-Khaliq in Paris on 23 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Tarabayh] Your Excellency the President, after your meeting with President Mitterrand, you said that it has been the best meeting

you have had so far. Would Your Excellency tell us about Lebanese-American relations, particularly in the wake of your recent visit to Washington?
[Al-Hirawi] New York, not Washington. I greatly differentiate between the meetings with my Arab brothers on one hand and the meetings in Europe and America. This meeting was very cordial and was held with open heart. That is why I said this.

I do not say that there is a big difference between the visit to the United States and my meeting with President Bush in New York and my talks here. There, it was a working meeting; here, however, clouds shrouded Lebanese-French relations for some time. The historical and deep relationship did not require much explanation during the meetings. In few minutes, the remains were removed. The discussion of other topics was facilitated. As I emerged from the Elysee, the expression on my face was that the meeting was successful. When he responded to my request to receive a group of Lebanese and French, that was the best evidence of what I expressed when I emerged from the Elysee.

We in Lebanon hope that we will restore our friendship and relations with all countries, beginning with the Arab brothers and with all Western countries, including the United States. We want these relations to be perfect, because the peace march should not be faced with any grudges or hatred. We do not want policies to be imposed on other countries. We seek peace, and we seek friendship with (?others).

['Abd-al-Khaliq] Our question now is on the peace conference. What do the Lebanese want specifically from the Madrid peace conference?
[Al-Hirawi] It has been repeated in the past that Resolution 425 is different than the other resolution adopted by the Security Council. And this is correct, because Lebanon did not declare war against Israel. Lebanon was invaded by Israel. Israel reiterated that we are ready to fully implement this resolution if there is a strong central government and an army in Lebanon. He [not further identified] will be fully ready to implement all the articles of this resolution. During my meeting with President Bush in New York, I (?pledged) to him that this government adopted many decisions and implemented them, and that we have a cohesive and strong army. And this was clear [words indistinct] the soldiers to implement the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers. [words indistinct] After today, no bullet will be fired from Lebanese territory toward the Israeli border, that is, from Lebanese territory within the internationally-recognized border—without reducing an inch. But, the saying that you cannot guarantee this or that, that is a Lebanese affair. I wish we will be given this role, so that they will see with their own eyes how we can carry out this role.

['Abd-al-Kahliq] Mr. President, it has been noticed that the situation is very tense in southern Lebanon, particularly in the occupied part. Why have the remaining militias not been stripped of their weapons, just as was the case with the other Lebanese and Palestinian militias?
[Al-Hirawi] There is a great difference between the situation of the Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias, including the Palestinian militias, and the existence of these Lebanese groups in the southern area, especially the occupied area. I cannot ask the Lebanese people not to resist occupation. If I ask for that, then it will mean surrender to the occupation and dealing with it as if it were the master of the situation. When I asked them to stop, I told them: Let Lebanese diplomacy work, and if it failed, we all would be resistance men. Regarding what happened during my stay abroad, I think it is due to Israel's attempts to disturb the atmosphere in Lebanon to claim that we are not capable of guaranteeing our border. Let it be known through your esteemed radio that these Israeli pretexts will not deceive any one. The Israelis have always been behind all events in the Lebanese and Palestinian arenas in order to use them as an excuse to strike Lebanon from time to time and to keep the southern front hot, a term used by the military to indicate tension. If we are promised by the two superpowers at the Madrid conference that withdrawal will be implemented and that the way of achieving that will be discussed by the Lebanese and Israeli military under the auspices of the United Nations or another side, all incidents will stop. [passage omitted]

[Tarabayh] Mr. President, I wish to go back to one important point, the question of political liberties in Lebanon. My question is specific and frank, and I hope you will take this question. Are General 'Awn's supporters in Lebanon, for example, allowed to distribute leaflets and statements in the name of the general, supporting the stands of Gen. 'Awn without being harassed or arrested?
[Al-Hirawi] I have hoped that we would not mention names of people distributing their stands and slogans. I believe in one slogan only: United Lebanon and the legitimate Lebanese state. But, to deal with some distributed statements and leaflets that do not believe in the Lebanese state or legitimacy, and the whole world has recognized this legitimacy, I do not think this means democracy and freedom. To say now: We do not recognize al-Ta'if agreement, the elections, the state, the government, the head of the state; and to curse Syria and the entire Arab world—are these slogans of freedom. I have said that we want to preserve democracy. But freedom has its limits and rules. It means the freedom to deal with each other and the freedom to write articles in papers, critical and supportive. But it is not allowed to harm the homeland and the homeland's legitimacy. I will not accept that. [passage omitted]

President al-Hirawi on National Rebuilding

PM2410101091 Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Oct 91 p 8

[Interview with President Ilyas al-Hirawi by Lucien George in Beirut; date not given]

[Excerpts] Beirut—[George] Since when do you really consider yourself to have been in power?
[Al-Hirawi] For the past year, of course: since it was possible to unify the Lebanese people and army. During the first year of my mandate from 24 November 1989 to 13 October 1990, I had to halt all other business and devote myself to the elimination of a rebellion—the one led by General 'Awn—which made it impossible for the government to make decisions and implement them. We should therefore be judged on the basis of what has been done since 13 October last year.

Until that key date, the Lebanese did not even hope for peace, just for a reliable cease-fire. They are now demanding from us the performance of a normally constituted state. That is their right and, I would say, it is a good thing because it proves that they think the war is over.

But the legacy must not be forgotten—16 years of chaos, a dismantled and bankrupt state which was collecting barely 5 percent of what it spent and its spending was reduced to the salaries of civil servants who were no longer coming to work. A divided and fragmented army. A collapsing currency with breathtakingly large exchange rate discrepancies compared with the dollar which are ruinous for the average citizen. And—worst of all—faith in the country had evaporated and had been replaced by a despair which led thousands of Lebanese to emigrate anywhere in the world provided it was far from the hopeless inferno which their country had become.

[George] Have Lebanon's problems now been solved?
[Al-Hirawi] Far from it. I know that, essentially speaking, we still have to solve the very difficult problem of the effective implementation of Security Council resolution 425 and that of the Palestinians' status, and in the internal sphere that of the return of displaced persons and parliamentary elections, in the sphere of the economy and daily life that of the vital repair of infrastructures, seizing the opportunity of our misfortunes to satisfy tomorrow's needs rather than those of yesterday. To do this, I am aware of the need for a reform of public administration and I have no hesitation in saying that it is corrupt.

[George] What do you think you have achieved?
[Al-Hirawi] Above all, the restoration of peace. Military peace but also internal peace—as soon as the obstacles were removed, the Lebanese came together again without hesitation. What a lesson for those who spoke of civil war and an irreversible split between Christians and Muslims! To our credit, or more precisely to Lebanon's credit, I would say that there is also a unified army and no longer any militias.

I would like to say that the Lebanese pound has regained 30 percent of its value against the dollar and that the central bank, which is rebuilding its reserves day by day, has perfect control over the situation, that there is once again a balance of payments surplus and that the budget deficit has been reduced from 95 percent to 55 percent. I would like to say that the ports and the airport are operating and that the best companies in the world, notably Western companies, are frequenting them again. I would like to say that there are no longer any illegal ports. I would like to say that the courts are dispensing justice, the schools are providing education, and parliament is legislating.

We are present in all international bodies and our foreign ministry has just chaired the Arab League session, and that had not happened for 16 years. We are hosting Arab and international congresses and Beirut no longer frightens the great powers.

[George] Were you shocked by the UN secretary general's refusal to accept a deployment of the Lebanese army alongside the UN Interim Force in Lebanon?
[Al-Hirawi] The Lebanese Government thought it was the Lebanese army's duty, now that it has been reshaped, to combine its efforts with those of the United Nations. Mr. Perez de Cuellar's reply leads me to assume that the United Nations deems it preferable not to change anything in southern Lebanon in the current regional situation.

[George] If the status quo is to be maintained, what did you obtain regarding resolution 425 during your visit to New York, notably during your meeting with President Bush?
[Al-Hirawi] This, which is essential, whatever people say: A distinction has now been irrevocably established between the concept of internationally recognized borders to which 425 refers and the concept of secure and recognized borders mentioned in 242 and 338. With regard to 425, there is nothing to negotiate, it only has to be implemented, whereas the other resolutions must be negotiated in the framework of the peace conference.

[George] In those conditions, why did you agree to take part in this conference which does not concern Lebanon?
[Al-Hirawi] It does concern Lebanon. Lebanon, a member of the Arab League, is one of the countries which borders on Israel. Furthermore, 500,000 Palestinians live on its territory, their fate and status are of direct concern to us because there is no question of agreeing to them settling in our country. We must be there to say that.

[George] Did the United States not demand that you should end all attacks on Israel prior to implementation of Resolution 425?
[Al-Hirawi] I told President Bush that I cannot prevent the struggle of an occupied people. But I also told him that Lebanon promises, as soon as the Israeli withdrawal has taken place, as soon as it has even been planned and has become irrevocable, that there will not be a single gunshot fired from Lebanese territory.

[George] Although the Israeli withdrawal seems to be frozen until after the peace conference, there is nonetheless talk of the possibility of a Syrian withdrawal, initially from Beirut and then to the al-Biqa'.

[Al-Hirawi] In fact, each time I meet with President al-Asad, he says to me: "Strengthen yourselves, you must take charge of your own security." And he matches his actions with his words. For instance, he has offered us 120 tanks—Syria is not rich—as a contribution to our army's equipment. "Is it a loan?" I asked him. "No, a gift." The Syrian military deployment has been reduced in Beirut and in the north. It is clear to me that this man is not shamming and that he means what he says when he emphasizes, particularly on this specific point, that he wants to implement the al-Ta'if agreements which means a Syrian withdrawal to the al-Biqa' in September 1992.

[George] Judging from what some people say, the Syrians are monopolizing everything in Lebanon.
[Al-Hirawi] That is pure invention. Give me a specific example!

[George] The Syrians have allegedly demanded and obtained one fourth of the Beirut Port Company.
[Al-Hirawi] What port company? The old concession expired in disputed circumstances because of the war. The Lebanese state now directly runs the port which is now bringing in 500 million pounds per day which, even in dollars—more than half a million—is not insignificant. If a new company is to be formed and if the state does not maintain its direct management, it will be put up for tender worldwide.

There is an abundance of rumors. Everything, even the curbstones for Beirut's sidewalks, comes from Syria, is imposed by Syria, and returns to Syria in the form of dollars.... To be honest, I must say that that is untrue with regard to the state and its resources. The absolute priority is always given to registered Lebanese entrepreneurs.

I would also say, since this is also widely discussed, that cultural and educational freedom is in no way threatened in our country. Nor is the free market economy. Both are guaranteed by the Constitution.

[George] When do you plan to hold elections?
[Al-Hirawi] At the end of 1992 or the beginning of 1993. I hope and believe that will be the case. We are already preparing for those elections. Some 240 civil servants have already been allocated to redrafting and updating registry office records and then drawing up the electoral registers. [passage omitted]

[George] Are you counting on an international aid fund to rebuild Lebanon?
[Al-Hirawi] The constitution of such a fund has been decided and the first contributions announced. It should see the light of day on 22 November. This fund is vital to allow the state to start the rebuilding process. But we are counting a great deal on private Lebanese investment or joint investment with international participation, to rebuild our country, starting with the capital Beirut.

[George] How do you as a Christian see the future of Christians in the Orient?
[Al-Hirawi] When the Arabs, meeting in Casablanca in 1989, set up the process to save Lebanon, my country, which was then in distress, was not even present. It was at their initiative—they were all Muslims—that the presidency of the republic was maintained as a Christian post in Lebanon. This therefore shows that they are convinced of the essential and positive role of the Christians who have safeguarded the Arab language in the Arab world. If our ancestors had not done so, many Arab countries would now speak Turkish.

In exchange, the three countries in which the Orient's Christians are primarily located have shown a constant concern for their continued existence: The Egyptian Constitution gives the president the right to appoint 10 deputies, essentially to counter any imbalance at the expense of the Copts. In Syria, three patriarchates have been maintained over the centuries. As for Lebanon, it is up to we Christians to play our role there, in all spheres and primarily within the state and the army.

[George] What do you expect from France? Has the "'Awn affair" stopped casting a shadow over your relations with Paris?
[Al-Hirawi] There are no longer any "affairs" between Lebanon and France, there is only friendship and common interests. France is the country in the world which has always understood Lebanon's role best. We therefore demand from it more than from any other non-Arab country, the French-speaking world being our common root.

We want France to support our cause, our democracy, our specific nature. Lebanon only has meaning in harmony with its Arab entourage, while maintaining its openness to all cultures and civilizations. In particular, France should continue to play a cultural role in Lebanon through schools, universities, and hospitals.

National Progressive Front Praises 'Coordination'

JN2410060291 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 0415 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Central Command of the National Progressive Front [NPF] held a meeting under President Hafiz al-Asad Wednesday evening. The participants discussed developments in the region, the peace process and the peace conference, and the contacts held with Arab and international parties prior to the issuance of the U.S.-Soviet invitations for the Madrid peace conference.

The Central Command noted with great satisfaction Syria's efforts to bring about coordination among the sides directly involved in the Arab-Isreli conflict. It considered the decision to participate in the peace conference to be in harmony with Syria's policy toward a just and comprehensive peace based on international legitimacy. The NPF Central Command also considered Syria's policy under President Hafiz al-Asad as a reflection of the pan-Arab constants of the Syrian stand.

The NPF Central Command highly valued efforts made and still being made by Syria under President Hafiz al-Asad to defend pan-Arab issues and Arab rights. It praised Syria's insistence on the need to return the occupied Arab territories and Palestinian rights as a basis for achieving peace in the region. It said Syria's policy in this regard reflects full commitment to the high interests of the Arab nation.

Egypt's Musa Confers With al-Asad on Conference

JN2410145591 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1215 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] President Hafiz al-Asad at 1300 today received 'Amr Musa, foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt. The meeting was attended by Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' and Egyptian Ambassador in Damascus Dr. Mustafa 'Abd-al-'Aziz Mursi. Talks dealt with issues of mutual interest related to the peace conference.

Makes Statement, Departs

JN2410170591 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1540 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus, 24 Oct (SANA)—'Amr Musa, foreign minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, left Damascus this evening after participating in the meetings of the foreign ministers of the five Arab countries concerned with the peace conference. He was seen off at Damascus International Airport by Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs, ranking Foreign Ministry officials, and the Egyptian ambassador in Damascus.

In a statement to a SANA reporter, Musa emphasized the importance of these meetings, describing them as being held within the framework of coordination before the convening of the peace conference. He said that coordination among the different Arab parties concerned with the peace process will continue with the aim of adopting positions to secure Arab rights, realize the aspired objectives, advance the peace process, and achieve a comprehensive and just peace.

Saudi Minister Discusses Conference With al-Asad

JN2410161491 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus, 24 Oct (SANA)—At 1600 today, President Hafiz al-Asad received Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The meeting was attended by Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' and the Saudi Ambassador in Damascus, Shaykh Ahmad al-Kuhaymi. Discussions at the meeting dealt with issues related to the peace conference.

Issues Statement, Departs

JN2410184191 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1755 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus, 24 Oct (SANA)—Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal left Damascus this evening after participating in the meetings of the five Arab countries involved in the peace conference.

The Saudi foreign minister was seen off at Damascus International Airport by Wahib Fadil, minister of state for presidential affairs, ranking Foreign Ministry officials, and the Saudi ambassador in Damascus.

In a statement to a SANA correspondent, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal said that the Damascus meeting was a success and that the Arab group's role is to support the stand of the countries involved in these negotiations. He said: We believe that the bases for coordination upon which agreement was reached, among the Arab countries involved, is something good and responds to all aspirations.

Lebanese, Jordanian Ministers Depart Damascus

JN2410171091 Damascus SANA in Arabic 1630 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Damascus, 24 Oct (SANA)—Shawqi Fakhuri, Lebanese minister of state for land, sea, and air transport affairs, left Damascus this afternoon after attending the Arab Foreign ministers meeting, which was held here on 23-24 October.

Transport Minister Engineer Yusuf Ahmad and ranking Foreign Ministry officials saw him off. Jordanian Foreign Minister Kamil Abu-Jabir also left Damascus this afternoon. Nasir Qaddur, minister of state for foreign affairs, the director of the Foreign Ministry's Arab homeland desk, and the Jordanian ambassador in Damascus saw him off.

Unified Arab Battle for Peace Planned

JN2410152591 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] Gentlemen: Observers of the clear profile of Syria's position regarding the peace process over the past few months are bound to discern full compatibility between rhetoric and actions. No less visible is the consistency between our pan-Arab and national policies and our advocacy of a just and comprehensive peace, and our decision to join the upcoming Madrid peace conference set for 30 October. This has been a hallmark with which President al-Asad has stamped Syrian policies over the past 20 years, whereby we have won universal trust and respect. That this has been the case is not surprising, since our policies have never been the result of improvisation. Nor have they ever lacked wisdom, reason, or courage.

When Syria made it known that it was interested in peace, it was saying it was ready to accommodate peace efforts based on international legitimacy, UN resolutions, and the will of the international community. By deciding to go to the peace conference, Syria is, in effect, saying it is prepared to go all the way to further peace and our national and pan-Arab interests, as well as the fortunes of the region and the global endeavor to set up a new world order. Syrian policies have been characterized by consistency, and, therefore, have been free from contradiction. Neither has Syria been caught making concessions or bargaining away rights. Thanks to the shrewdness of Syria's striving leader President Hafiz al-Asad—for which the entire world will give it credit—Damascus has been singularly successful in evaluating the international efforts to convene a peace conference. Syria has thus decided to join the peace conference on the same bases it has always adopted in its pursuit for peace in the region.

Hence the announcement by the Central Command of the Progressive National Front, following yesterday's meeting, stating that the decision to attend the peace conference is in line with Syria's policies of working for a fair and comprehensive peace, rooted in international legitimacy, and that the Syrian line led by President Hafiz al-Asad is an expression of pan-Arab constants inherent in Syria's position. Thus the Damascus meetings of the foreign ministers of the five frontline Arab states was a logical follow-up to consolidate the Arab position as our nation prepares to join the battle for peace, that will ultimately determine the fate of the region for many decades, and, possibly, for centuries to come.

The five frontline Arab states, together with representatives of the Gulf states and the Arab Maghreb, are meeting in Damascus to finalize a strategy for common Arab action, as we wage the battle for peace with a division-free united stand, common goals dictated by overall Arab interests, and a united decision backed by Arab rights and the Arab masses and the empathy of an international community that has come closer than ever to facts and become more inclined than ever to champion justice and peace.

A strategy for common Arab action will emerge from Damascus, which has worked out its position with wisdom and courage—a strategy that the Zionist enemy has unfailingly sought to torpedo. We will go to Madrid with a united vision and common position, aided by justice and right, and the yearnings of Arab masses toward peace, the liberation of Arab land, and the recovery of Arab rights, both for us and for our future generations. We will be waging a battle no less fierce than all the past battles we had to fight for our freedom and land, and for which we have given unstintingly.

India

No Response From Abductors of Romanian Diplomat

BK2410164091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Four foreign-based Sikh organizations have appealed to the abductors of the Romanian diplomat, Mr. Radu, to release him without any harm at the earliest. In a joint appeal released through the World Sikh News Service in the United States they pointed out that the kidnappers have achieved their design of getting adequate publicity in the international media, and as such, Mr. Radu should be released safely at the earliest. The appeal was issued by Mr. Gurcharan Singh Dhillon, president of World Sikh Organization in America; Mr. Bhutej Singh, president of Sikh Youth of America; (?two) organizations led by B.B. Amrit Kaur and Rupa Rai; and the International Sikh Youth Federation of Germany, Holland, Canada, and the United Kingdom. The appeal was faxed to PTI in New Delhi today.

Meanwhile, the minister of state for home, Mr. M.M. Jacob, has said there has been no response from the kidnappers of Mr. Radu since the expiry of the second deadline last evening. He said the government is in touch with the kidnappers. However, Mr. Jacob said releasing criminals in exchange of hostages can shatter the law enforcement machinery and is not a healthy practice.

Narora Atomic Power Plant Unit Goes 'Critical'

BK2410131591 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1230 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The second unit of the Narora nuclear power station went critical early this morning. The 320 mw unit will start full generation in about two months. The secretary in the Department of Atomic Energy, Dr. Iyengar, told a group of visiting newsmen that the plant has several safety systems, including automatic shut-down facility.

Official Sources: Economic Crisis Continues

BK2110153991 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 7 Oct 91 p 1

[By A.N. Prabhu]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 6—The Indian economy is evenly poised now after a cliffhanger balance of payments (BoP) crisis, according to official sources. The crisis took the country nearly to the brink of the much-dreaded humiliation of having to default on repayment obligations. This had fortunately been averted but Government economists express the view that the worst is not yet over.

The economy will be back on the rails only after inflation is curbed and exports pick up faster, they point out.

The BoP position has improved slightly from rock-bottom in June last when the country had reserves just to finance less than 15 days' imports. The precarious situation had mainly been brought about by the reckless short-term borrowing (about Rs [rupees] 10,000 crore) of the last seven years, after years of prudent financial management, and the country's inability to make productive use of the borrowing, both domestic and external.

The led to the Chandra Shekhar and later Narasimha Rao Governments to sell gold to maintain face in front of the creditors.

The BoP position has shown a slight improvement mainly because i) there has been a letup in the withdrawal by non-resident Indians (NRIs); ii) Aid-India consortium commitment of $6.67 billion for this year; iii) a review by the World Bank to resume financing of power projects, after keeping the proposals hanging for nearly a year; iv) a comparative lull on the political front after the hectic election and budget session of Parliament and v) drastic changes in economic policies considered near-impossible only a few months ago sending signals at home and abroad that the Government meant business in setting matters right.

While the foreign investors are watching closely how the liberal economic policies are being implemented, the crucial factor on which success will depend will be, the sources point out, on how far the Government measures bring prices under control.

The wholesale price index has already crossed the 15 percent mark on a point-to-point basis and indications are that on an annualised basis, it would be a little higher and this will be unbearable to the common man.

The inflation scenario has baffled Government economists, who are, however, sanguine that the lean season in progress has steadied it, if not actually brought down prices. They point to the marginal fall in the prices of some items such as vegetables and fruits.

What has remained unexplained is how despite a good monsoon and a near-full Government granary, there is no letup in prices. One explanation is that the devaluation of the rupee had its impact on domestic prices. But that does not give the whole picture. It is possible that prices tend to go up in a period of political uncertainty. Now that there is a semblance of stability, hoarders and speculators are on their guard against stringent measures, the sources say.

The other worrisome area is exports: there has been no sign of exports picking up despite a host of measures taken after the new Government took over. In the first quarter, in dollar terms, which is the true indicator of export performance, exports had in fact been down (negative) by 6.8 percent. In the second quarter, it is said to be equally bad, according to information reaching the Commerce Ministry. There is concern over the poor performance. The trade deficit has shown an improvement, but this need not be a matter of consolation

because this has mainly been achieved through a contraction of imports. A rough estimate shows that the sledgehammer cuts in imports from March 1897 have brought down imports by 20 percent in the last four months. This will obviously have repercussions on industrial production as also on the Government's ability to resort to supply management. The days ahead are, therefore, "crucial", the sources warn.

Iran

Some Palestinian, Lebanese Leaders Arrested

PM2510102991 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 24 Oct 91 pp 1, 6

[Unattributed report: "Iranian Delegation To Head for Lebanon To Close Hostage File"]

[Excerpt] Tehran, SAWT AL-KUWAYT—Iranian authorities have put under house arrest some leaders of the hard-line Lebanese and Palestinian organizations who took part in the conference held in Tehran in support of the Palestinian intifadah. An authoritative Iranian source said some hard-line Lebanese leaders who in the past took positions that conflicted with the official Iranian position on the hostage issue were detained in a "tactful manner" and told that the time was not suitable for their return to Lebanon and that it would be better for them to spend some time in Qom, Mashhad, and Tehran.

The Iranian source added that an Iranian delegation will leave Iran for Lebanon in the next few days to bring an end to the hostage issue.

SAWT AL-KUWAYT also has learned that Iranian President Hashemi-Rafsanjani received via the Swiss Embassy in Tehran a message of thanks for his personal efforts in securing the release of Jesse Turner. [passage omitted]

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Receives Hamas Spokesman

LD2410112791 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani this morning received Mr. Ibrahim Ghawshah, member of the leadership cadre and official spokesman of the Islamic Resistance Movement of Palestine, Hamas, and his entourage.

At the meeting, the Hamas spokesman first praised Iran for her fundamental and uniform stance in defense of the holy ideals of Palestine and described the holding of the international conference in support of the Islamic revolution of the people of Palestine in Tehran as a very important and successful move.

He also submitted a report to Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani on the latest developments in the Islamic uprising of the Muslim people of Palestine and the role of Hamas inside the occupied lands.

The president then praised the glorious uprising of the Muslim and enslaved people of Palestine which still continues in force, despite all the pressure and savagery of the regime occupying Jerusalem. He stressed the need for coordinating all the resources of the Muslim, combative Palestinian forces and for all the Arab and Muslim world to afford its support for that uprising.

Describing the struggles of the Muslim people of Palestine as rightful, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani said victory belonged to that meek and enslaved nation. He said: The hearts of all the world's Muslims are with and support the Palestinian combatants and crusaders.

Khamene'i Opens Intifadah Support Accounts

LD2510085191 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 1530 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The office of the leader of the Islamic revolution announced that at the order of His Eminence Ayatollah Khamene'i, the guardian of the cause of Muslim, account No. 2200 has been opened to receive foreign currency donations, and account No. 800 has been opened to receive rial cash donations, at the Meli Iran Bank, central branch, under the name of the guardian of the cause of Muslims in order to assist and practically support the Palestinian strugglers, and to show deep sympathy with the Palestinian and opprressed Muslims and the intifidah.

Compatriots, Muslims, and the people of the world can make their cash donations in rials and in foreign currencies at any branch of the Meli Iran Bank in the above mentioned accounts in order to assist the Islamic revolution of the oppressed people of Palestine.

Besharati Views Terrorism, U.S. Ties

NC2510072191 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 15 Oct 91 pp 1, 15

[City Desk report]

[Text] Tehran—The first deputy foreign minister reiterated Iran's policy of having "any sort of interference in the internal affairs of any country and maintained that the Islamic Republic of Iran "condemns any act of terrorism including the assassination of the last prime minister of the Shah, Shahpur Bakhtiar." [quotation marks as published]

Talking to the TEHRAN TIMES in a series of interviews on various subjects and relations of Iran with several countries, the First Deputy Foreign Minister 'Ali Mohammad Besharati said. "There are some moves by certain people in connection with the U.S. proposed

Middle East peace conference which meant nothing but to provoke member states against the Islamic Republic of Iran."

He, however, declared that Iran will continue to support the Islamic Revolution of the Palestinians.

Two parts of Besharati's interview have already appeared in which he commented on regional countries' relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Commenting on the U.S. Besharati said, "A few days ago (President George) Bush expressed his country's intention to have relations with Iran."

"Iran, however, responded to Bush's desire in the negative," he said. U.S. also said that Iran is in the process of better relations with Europe.

U.S. also said that through such diplomacy Iran wants to create a discord between Europe and America and explicitly announced that it would not allow Iran to succeed in its diplomacy, Besharati said.

"On the other hand, we witness that a handful of unpatriotic terrorists and disgraceful elements are busy in attacking the Iranian delegations abroad," he said.

To be more specific Besharati singled out some examples such as the attack on the Iranian delegation member in Geneva which was with Foreign Minister Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, attack on Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Khatami's delegation in Germany, attack on Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Khamene'i in France and recently an attack on the Iranian delegation headed by Western Europe Director General Dr. 'Alireza 'Asefi in Rome.

Besharati expressed his condemnation in strong words and said the Rome attack took place right in front of the eyes of Italian foreign ministers, other officials and large numbers of mediamen.

"Well, I do not claim that such an attack occurred according to the wishes of the U.S., but I can't deny that the U.S. has had no role in such terrorist activities. [sentence as published]

"Do those who claim to be the champions of freedom, want it for terrorist activities?" Besharati questioned. After that the question is whether they want to expand commercial and economic relations with Iran, he said.

The Islamic Republic of Iran did not and does not believe in violence, he said, adding that "it does not mean that others should expect that we should observe silence if such activities are continuing."

"It's not in the interest of the Western countries that they should allow these grouplets to continue these violent activities," he said and emphasized that it is in the interest of Iran and the European countries not to allow such violent activities carried out by the terrorists.

"We remind the European officials to think twice on this issue in the light of their own interests," Besharati said.

Comments on Regional Ties

NC2510093091 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Oct 91 p 1, 15

[City Desk report]

[Text] Tehran—"Iran is following on certain firmly set principles in relations with other countries on the basis of mutual respect, interest and non-interference in each other's internal affairs," said first deputy foreign minister.

'Ali Mohammad Besharati, former member of the Majles in the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly comes from Jahrom, Fars Province. He got his early education in Jahrom and then was an Islamic jurisprudent in Qom.

His interview with the TEHRAN TIMES has already appeared in the last three issue of the daily.

Commenting further on Iran's relations with various other countries Besharati said, "Now our ties with India are improving and the two countries joint commission meeting is due to be held next month which will accelerate these relations."

"Yes we are concerned on the Kashmir issue and we have explicitly expressed our views with the Indian officials," he said.

He considered the assassination of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi "a tragedy".

Besharati said that new administration of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's decision on the Babri Mosque is appreciated by Iran and other Muslims. He said that the current visit of 'Alla'eddin Borujerdi to India is 'important' and more understanding between the two countries will be created in future.

He said that Iranian relations with the regional countries will continue in line with previously avowed principles which have already been announced by the leader of the Islamic Revolution late Imam Khomeyni, Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

"We give priority to the security of the region," he said, adding that Iran wants that this security must be maintained by the regional countries alone."

Commenting further on ties with Turkey Besharati said that Iran has concentrated all its efforts on expanding its relations with neighboring Turkey.

"Of course," he said, "we also expect that Ankara should do what it has at its disposal to remove the present bottlenecks for the smooth flow of Irano-Turkish relations.

On Pakistan, Besharati said both countries have enjoyed friendly relations based on co-existence and mutual respect.

One of the forefront freedom fighters against the Shah's regime Besharati had to remain in the Shah's jail in the worst possible conditions, he said himself.

During his interview when asked Besharati recalled one torture executioner of the Shah's dreaded secret police whom he identified only [as] Hoseyni and said that he exercised the worst type [of] torture against him.

"So much so he tore out five of my nails and behaved most brutally towards me," Besharati said and recalled that after the culmination of the Islamic Revolution "I came across that Hoseyni who was ashamed and cried in front of me."

He said "I told him whatever he did to me I forgive but what he had done against the others or against the entire nation that man had to pay for.

Soft spoken Besharati turning his comments to Pakistan said, "A suspicious grouplet with a satanic mission has recently embarked on spoiling Tehran-Islamabad relations.

"We already have told our friends in Pakistan that if such grouplets are allowed to continue their activities, it may result in disrupting Pakistan's national unity," he said.

Besharati believes that if such grouplets continue its nasty activities it will sow the seeds of discord and hatred within the nation of Pakistan and will also undermine the authority of government in Islamabad.

"Anyway, we once more appeal to our friends in Pakistan to stop the activities of such grouplets who are bent on destroying friendship between the two countries," he said.

Ankara Embassy Lodges Protest of Ship Seizure

LD2410193391 Tehran IRNA in English 1834 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Ankara, Oct. 24, IRNA—The Iranian Embassy here Thursday protested to Turkey over its seizure of a cargo ship carrying goods for Iran off Istanbul port. Iranian Ambassador Mohammad Reza Baqeri described the seizure of the freighter 'The Cape Maleas' as "illegal" and in "violation of international regulations," pointing out that all cargo aboard the vessel was registered in its documents. The ambassador's reaction was in response to allegations in the Turkish press that the cargo ship was carrying arms to Iran.

Baqeri said over the past two days he had protested to Turkish Foreign Ministry officials over the issue, calling for the immediate release of the vessel. He said he had also cautioned Turkish Foreign Ministry Officials of malicious attempts by certain pro-Zionist segments to mar Tehran-Ankara relations.

"In view of the fact that all cargo aboard the vessel is registered in its bill of lading, it is the certain right of the Islamic Republic to demand the return of goods to the country," he said.

"Many problems are due to arise if waterways become unsafe for ships," the ambassador warned. He said this week's holding of an international conference on Palestine in Tehran has prompted Zionist sympathizers who are clearly against the interests of the Palestinian Muslims to embark on such futile attempts to mar the friendly relations between neighbouring Iran and Turkey.

Earlier on Tuesday, a Turkish police spokesman alleged that coastal guards had discovered thousands of ground to air missiles, missile launchers and automatic rifles after searching the 7,200 ton Cyprus-registered vessel.

Radio Condemns French Nuclear 'Assistance'

NC2410214791 (Clandestine) Voice of Mojahed in Persian 1630 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] The Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization [MKO] of Iran issued a statement on the Khomeyni regime's increased activity toward gaining access to nuclear weapons and vehemently condemned Deputy Foreign Minister Va'ezi's visit to France.

A statement issued by the MKO office yesterday said that according to news agency reports, Va'ezi, foreign minister of the mullahs ruling Iran and Velayati's deputy, arrived in Paris to obtain enriched uranium. Khomeyni's regime has been pressuring European countries for the past year for access to nuclear technology.

The statement says access to French enriched uranium is the No. 1 priority of the regime's nuclear program. The Khomeyni regime has riveted its attention on the PRC as well for gaining nuclear technology.

In conclusion, the MKO office stressed that when the regime's echelons are defending the atomic bomb as the most important strategic guarantee for their prolonged role in the region's future, any French assistance to this terrorist dictatorship will run counter to the Iranian people's interests and the peace and stability of this strategic region. The Iranian resistance and the MKO strongly condemn any such assistance.

Habibi Attends Defense University Graduation

NC2510090591 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] The first graduation ceremony of the Defense Sciences and Industries University was held last night in Shahin Shahr, Esfahan, in the presence of the first vice president. Habibi emphasized the need to train capable and alert people in the military field for the better use of military equipment and materiel and said: The Defense Sciences and Industries University has a significant role

to play in defending and supporting the country's independence by training experts. Mr. Habibi added: Knowledge and skills on defense matters should be used, and investment in this field will be focused on the country's independence.

During the ceremony, which was also attended by Torkan, minister of defense and armed forces logistics, the first vice president handed out awards and citations to professors and students ranking up to third place in the Defense Sciences and Industries University.

Islamic Group Condemns Regional Peace Conference

LD2510044391 Tehran IRNA in English 1340 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 24, IRNA—The Islamic Propagation Organization (IPO) here Thursday condemned the U.S. sponsored Middle East peace conference, to be held in Madrid, Spain next week.

A statement issued by the organization supported the stances taken by the Islamic revolution leader Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i on the issues related to the Muslims. It also emphasized that the full elimination of the al-Qods [Jerusalem] occupying regime as well as ending occupation of the Islamic holy lands were the only way to establish tranquility and a durable peace in the region.

The Madrid conference has, so far, been condemned by a number of the world countries.

Rome Embassy's Consular Section Closed

NC2410202691 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Oct 91 pp 2, 15

[Editorial: "Carelessness in Maintaining Friendly Relations"]

[Text] In protest against the failure of the Italian authorities to provide adequate security for the Iranian diplomats, the Iranian Embassy in Rome closed its visa section.

The decision was taken in response to an incident which occurred on Sunday while the Iranian ambassador to Rome, Hamid Abu-Talebi, and the Foreign Ministry Director General for European and American Affairs, Hamid-Reza 'Asefi, attended the 17th Congress of Pio Manzu Scientific and Research Center in Rimini to receive the Center's highest award on behalf of the Iranian Foreign Minister. Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati had been named for the award on account of his outstanding diplomatic activities at international level.

Upon the announcement of Velayati's name three members of Monafeqin [hypocrites—the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization] (MKO) counter-revolutionary grouplet attacked the Iranian diplomats, who were sitting close to the Italian Foreign Minister and the Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and sprayed them with a colored substance.

The glaringly incongruous aspect of the incident was the Pio Manzu Scientific and Research Center's ostensible appreciation of the diplomatic activities of a high-ranking Iranian official, and the Italian authorities negligence in protecting the Iranian diplomats against the outrages of the outlawed (MKO) group.

Certainly Dr. Velayati's activities could not have been evaluated in a vacuum, and as the foreign minister of Iran his diplomatic initiatives must be regarded as part and parcel of the general foreign policy of the Islamic Republic. And any praise accorded to Dr. Velayati must also be regarded as a praise and appreciation of the general Iranian diplomatic strategies.

Thus it was naturally expected that sufficient security would be provided for the representatives of the Iranian foreign ministry who had been invited by the Pio Manzu Center to attend its 17th congress. And obviously any shortcoming in this regard will be considered as an inexcusable carelessness.

The Italian authorities, and indeed all Western countries, should have realized by now that the Islamic Republic does not build its relations with other countries on one-dimensional basis, but insists on having comprehensive ties in all cultural, economic and political areas. And any country which fails to honor its obligations towards Iran in all aspects of its relations with the Islamic Republic can not expect to maintain fully developed ties with Iran.

Incidents similar to what happened in Rimini will scandalize public opinion in Iran and may provoke retaliatory actions in the Islamic Republic.

Thus it is expected that apart from a formal apology the Italian government will take adequate measures to curb the activities of the outlawed groups in their country, and prevent the recurrence of similar outrages in future. This is naturally and understandably the basic prerequisite for maintaining friendly relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

'Monafeqin' Criticized for Supporting U.S.

NC2410204491 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 15 Oct 91 p 2

[Editorial: "MKO Used To Suppress Kurdish Uprisings"]

[Text] With the outbreak of an Islamic uprising in Iraq, a U.S.-led imperialistic propaganda campaign was launched focusing on the downfall of Saddam Husayn and his Ba'th party.

But later when the popular uprising reached it peak, the U.S., in order to check the ever-increasing growth of Islamic movements, was forced to agree to Saddam remaining in power and used Iraqi-based members of the outlawed Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO),

better known as Monafeqin (hypocrites) in suppressing the uprising in collaboration with the crushed Iraqi Army.

On the other side, the news of the atrocious acts committed by Ba'thist and MKO forces was circulated all over the world, prompting the U.S. to send an envoy from the Senate foreign relations committee to file a report on the popular revolt in a bid to justify its silence on the repression of the Iraqi people.

In his reports, the American envoy said they (hypocrites) seemed to be fighting people alongside Saddam's forces. MKO in a propagandistic move handed over a video tape to the U.S. Congress charging Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guards masquerading as Kurds with involvement in heavy attacks on northern Iraqi cities such as al-Sulaymaniyah.

MKO now tries to justify its collaboration with the Ba'thist army in quelling the popular anti-government movements by claiming that their objective was to foil so called Iranian military assaults in the hope of attracting the attention of European countries and making the U.S. accept its subservience. But the bitter memories of the crimes perpetrated by MKO in northern Iraq will never be obliterated from the minds of any Muslim Kurds.

Pakistan

Renowned Scientist Declares Nuclear Capability

WA2510133491 Karachi DAWN in English 22 Oct 91 p 1

[Text] Pakistan's renowned nuclear scientist, Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan, has said whether anyone believes it or not but it is a fact that Pakistan has become a nuclear power and is at present concentrating on manufacturing sophisticated arms to fulfill its requirements.

Dr. Qadir's announcement sent a wave of jubilation among the 200 top businessmen and industrialists of the country gathered at dinner meeting of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry [FPCCI] on Monday.

However, Dr. Qadir made it clear that the nuclear breakthrough posed threat anyone [as published] would only put the country on the road to progress and prosperity, he added.

Just 10 years after the setting up of Pakistan's first nuclear enrichment plant at Kahuta in 1981, Pakistan was now one of the few countries of the world which possessed nuclear technology and knowhow, he pointed out.

Dr. Qadir, who attended the FPCCI dinner meeting mainlt to arrange funds and donations from the business community for the RS 1.25 billion Ghulam Ishaq Khan Research Institute at Topi, near Tarbela in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province], said Pakistan's foreign aid hadb already been stopped and we are being pressured from all the anti-Pakistani lobbies to toe their line. "Indeed I am now one of the most wanted scientists in the world", he remarked.

After achieving the nuclear breakthrough, Dr. Qadir said, he personally approached President Ghulam Ishaq Khan to allow the scientists and engineers of Kahuta to manufacture arms and missiles for defence. "We fulfill our promise and presently the Pakistani engineers and scientists are manufacturing 350 million dollars worth of missiles and mines in the country", he said.

Dr Qadir disclosed that Pakistan had recently exported 500 laser range finders at 7500 dollars a piece to Saudi Arabia. "Our laser range finer was put to test along with the finders of US and Europe and I am proud to say that our finders left the others far behind", remarked.

Keeping in view the good quality and standard of Pakistan's laser finders, the Saudis were intending to order 1000 more, he said.

About the Ghulam Ishaq Research Institute, he said the total case [as published] of the institute, which would be one of the most advanced institutes of modern technology, would be about Rs 1.25 billion.

Dr. Qadir said Rs 500 million had been given by Agha Hasan Abedi of BCCI and said "now it was up to us to arrange the balance amount."

He said presently about 6,000 engineers and scientists were working at Kahuta and due to declining education standard "we are [as published] a sufficient numbers of facing great difficulty in procuring the services of engineers and scientists possessing the required skill and competence.

"The new institute which was a brainchild of the President and me will go a long way in producing the world's finest and top engineers and scientists, " he remarked.

He pointed out that "we spend millions of rupees on musical and other social activities, but have turned a blind eye to education which determines the destiny of every nation."

Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan said a large number of Pakistani engineers and scientists were working abroad and their services could be utilised by the new institute for producing new engineers and scientists.